

A NEW HISTORY OF *JAMAICA.*

In Thirteen LETTERS from a GENTLEMAN to his FRIEND.

CONTAINING.

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| <p>I. The Author's Voyage to that Island; with an Account of several curious Particulars which he met with in his Passage.</p> <p>II. A Description of <i>Jamaica</i>; its natural Advantages, Manners of the People, &c.</p> <p>III. <i>Spanish</i> Cruelty on first Settling there. Expedition of Sir <i>Anthony Shirley</i>, and Col. <i>Jackson</i>, against them. Its Conquest by the <i>English</i>.</p> <p>IV. The Enterprizes of the famous <i>Buccaneers</i>.</p> <p>V. The Life and Actions of Sir <i>Henry Morgan</i>, and his Enterprizes against the <i>Spaniards</i>.</p> <p>VI. Institution of the <i>General Assembly</i>, and other curious Particulars.</p> <p>VII. Abstract of all the Laws and Statutes in Force in <i>Jamaica</i>.</p> <p>VIII. The first <i>Assiento</i> Contract. Enterprizes of the <i>Rebel Negroes</i>. Dreadful Earthquake. <i>French</i> Invasions. Col. <i>Lillingstone's</i> Expedition against <i>Hispaniola</i>. The <i>Scots</i> Settlement at <i>Darien</i>. Gallant Actions and Death of Admiral <i>Bembow</i>, &c.</p> | <p>IX. <i>Port-Royal</i> burnt to the Ground. A dreadful Hurricane. Of <i>Blackbeard</i>, a famous Pirate. Character and Importance of the <i>Mosquito Indians</i>. Formidable Power of the <i>Rebel Negroes</i>.</p> <p>X. The <i>Rebels</i> submit to Terms. Admiral <i>Vernon's</i> Success against <i>Porto-Bello</i>.</p> <p>XI. Of the Government Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, of <i>Jamaica</i>, Customs of the Inhabitants. The Sacrifices, Libations, Exercises, and Diversions of the <i>Negroes</i>, &c.</p> <p>XII. Of the Products of <i>Jamaica</i>; of its Trees, Plants, Birds, Beasts, Fish, Insects, &c.</p> <p>XIII. Its Trade and Commerce. Its Importance to <i>Great Britain</i>. Number of its People. Money it returns to <i>Great Britain</i>. Directions to new Settlers, in Relation to their Healths.</p> |
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In which are briefly interspers'd,

The CHARACTERS of its GOVERNORS, and
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS.

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HISTORY

OF

JAMAICA

In THREE VOLUMES. VOL. I.

THE FIRST PART.

CONTAINING



The History of Jamaica, from its first discovery by Christopher Columbus, in 1494, to the present time. This work is divided into three volumes, and contains a full and complete account of the island, its natural history, its civil and political state, its commerce, and its population. The first volume contains the history of the island from its discovery to the year 1655, and the second volume contains the history from 1655 to the present time. The third volume contains a full and complete account of the island, its natural history, its civil and political state, its commerce, and its population.

The Character of its Government, and the Character of its People.

By J. H. B. Esq. of the Middle Temple, Barrister at Law.

PREFACE.

IT is needless to offer an Apology for presenting the Publick with the following Letters : If the Facts contained in them are faithfully related, they need none ; and if they can't stand the Test, the best Excuse would be insufficient.

The Reader will observe the principal Matters laid together in an easy familiar Way. And as many of the Facts are in themselves extraordinary, 'tis presumed they will give equal Surprize and Delight.

To make the following Work as complete as possible, an Abstract is made of the most considerable Statutes now in Force in that Island, which will at once shew after what manner our distant Countrymen are governed, and the Difference betwixt theirs and the British Constitution.

Nothing of this kind ever appeared before, except a very few incorrect Abstracts, which are huddled together in the general Accounts of the West-Indies: And as I had such an Opportunity of being acquainted with the Island, and the remarkable Occurrences which have happened in it, some Gentlemen, whose Judgment I justly esteem, put me on attempting the writing its History.

The Work is left to the Judgment of the Publick; nor shall the Author pretend to give it any other Recommendation, than the Fidelity with which he has written it.

SUB



A NEW
HISTORY
OF
JAMAICA.

*In Thirteen Letters from a Gentleman in that Island
to his Friend in London.*

LETTER I.

SIR,

A GOOD Ship and easy Gales have at last brought me to this Part of the New World: New indeed in regard of ours, for here I find every thing altered; and, amidst all the Variety which crouds upon my Sight, scarce see a Face that resembles the gay Bloom of a *Britain*. The People seem all sickly, their Complexion is muddy, their Colour wan, and their Bodies meagre; they look like so many Corpses, and their Dress resembles a Shroud; however, they are frank and good-humour'd, and make the best of Life they can. If Death is more busy in this Place than in many others, his Approach is no where received with a greater Unconcernedness: They live well, enjoy their Friend, drink heartily, make Money, and are quite careless of Futurity. But I'll take another Opportunity to draw their Character, when Time

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shall

shall encrease my Knowledge, and my Acquaintance with them becomes more general.

Our Voyage was pleasant; fair weather and good Winds made every Hardship easy. The Captain is a Man of Sense; a certain Frankness appears in his Temper, which never fails to gain Esteem; he has none of those Ill-natur'd surly Airs, which are too oft the Foible of those of his Profession; the very Servants were easy under his Command, and scarce a Murmur appeared: When the Sailors used them amiss, they had Access to complain, and were sure of Redress; a better Man I never saw; an easy Friend, an agreeable Companion, of a lively Wit, and penetrating Genius; good without Ostentation, and just without Severity. And here likewise, I cannot forbear to do Justice to another Character; the Surgeon is a young Gentleman of excellent Parts, and great Good-nature; and has all along applied himself to the different Circumstances of the Sick with surprizing Art and Patience, sympathized with their Pains, attended them closely, and used every proper Means for their Recovery.

There were several Gentlemen Passengers, who understood Men and Manners perfectly well: With such I could not miss to be happy; the Hours slipped easily away, every Day was agreeable, and I did not mind a tedious Voyage.

We had Diversions besides Conversation; lived well, but not high; might command a Glass when we would, and use the same Freedom as if ashore. After a few Weeks sailing, we got into the warm Latitudes, and soon were diverted with many new and surprizing Sight in the watry World, Fishes flying, Dolphins playing, and the huge Grampus's rolling their unwieldy Trunks, which could not miss to furnish out an agreeable Amusement. The Sailors prepared their small Harpoons, and soon killed a Dolphin. I was curious to view a Creature I had heard such Fables about: It measured full Four Feet, was gross about the Middle, the Belly
of

of a fine yellow Colour, the Back greenish, and, in other respects, not unlike a large Salmon, but distinguished by a Hollow or Sinking-in betwixt the Snout and Top of the Head. It is very delicious Eating when right prepared, fat, and tastes much like the Turbot. The Flying-fish has Two long Fins, which serve instead of Wings; 'tis about the Bigness of a Herring, and of the same Shape. These Fishes keep together in large Shoals, and fly in prodigious Numbers to avoid the Bonetta and Dolphin, which prey upon them; they keep no longer above Water than their Wings or Fins are wet, and for this Reason frequently fall on the Deck of Ships, and become an easy Prey to the Sailors who either eat them, or use them as Bait to catch the Dolphin and Bonetta. The Bonetta I take to be a Species of the Cod; for I could perceive little Difference either in the Shape or Taste; its Skin is not indeed of such a clear silver Colour, nor is it of such a small Size, but in every thing else they are alike.

We had scarce got to the Latitude of Thirty Degrees, when we were surpris'd with a Sight of that extraordinary Meteor often seen at Sea, very dangerous to Ships, and whatever happens in its way, called the *Water-spout*. The first Appearance of it is in Form of a deep Cloud, whose upper Part is white, the lower black; from the lower Part hangs, or rather falls, what is properly called the Spout, resembling a conical Tube, biggest above; under this Tube is always a great Boiling and Flying-up of the Water, as in a Jet-d'Eau; for some Yards above the Surface of the Sea, the Water stands as a Column, from the Extremity whereof it spreads, and goes off as in a kind of Smoke; frequently the Cone descends so low as to touch the Middle of this Column, and continues for some time contiguous to it, tho' now-and-then it only points at some Distance, either downright or aslant.

It is often scarce distinguishable whether the Cone or Column appear first, tho' generally the Boiling or Flying up of the Water has the Priority; and this immediately precedes its being formed into a Column. For the most part, the Cone does not appear hollow till towards the End, when the Sea-water is thrown violently up the Middle of it, as Smoke up a Chimney. Soon after, this Cone disappears, and the Boiling up of the Water continues some time afterwards, and even till the Spout forms itself, and appears anew, which it will do, on Occasions, several times in a Quarter of an Hour.

The real Cause of an Appearance so uncommon, and so dangerous to approach, is as yet but little known, tho' it is thought with a good Degree of Probability, that they are a Gyration or Whirling of Clouds, impelled by contrary Winds meeting in a Point or Centre, and falling down in a great Tube, somewhat like *Archimedes's* spiral Screw, where the greatest Condensation and Gravitation is by its working whirling Motion, absorbing and raising the Water with a prodigious Force.

The Dissolution of these Spouts may be ascribed to the Weight of the great Quantity of Water they generally take up, which impedes the Rapidity of their Motion, whereon their Force, and even Existence, depends. When they break, they overwhelm whatever is underneath. To prevent the ill Consequences of this, Seamen, when near, endeavour to disturb and break them by Noises, and the firing of great Guns, which puts the circumjacent Air into a Tremor and Motion different to, and opposite in some sort to that whereby they are impelled.

I purposely omit the little Gaieties among the Sailors when we reached the Tropick, too trifling for Notice, and too coarse to be repeated; we judged ourselves at this time many Hundred Leagues distant from any Shore, and yet were fur-

surrounded on all Hands by a vast Multitude of Birds. I am told they are always seen in this Latitude; but where they nest, what their Name, or whence they come, is yet (for aught I know) a Secret; they are pure white, have long Necks and Bills, and are about the Bigness of a Solon Goose.

Soon after, we got the Trade-Winds, which carried us with an easy Quickness, at the rate of Two Leagues, or Six Knots, an Hour. These Winds blow constantly between the Tropicks from East to West occasioned by the Sun's daily Progress round that Part of the Globe, and by his Heat rarefying one Part of the Air, while the cooler and heavier presses after. We had a double Advantage; for they not only served to make our Voyage the more pleasant and easy, but likewise to fan us; for by this time the Heat was become almost insupportable. 'Tis impossible to represent the kind Effects of these friendly Gales, or how much they refreshed and relieved us; without this kind Contrivance of indulgent Nature, the warm sultry Regions would be nothing but one continued Desert.

And here it may not be improper to explain more at large the Reasons of this curious Phænomenon, which is of such vast Advantage to Mankind; and I can do it no better, than in the Words of the ingenious *Halley*.

Wind is defined to be the Stream or Current of the Air; and where such Current is perpetual and fixed in its Course, 'tis necessary, that it proceed from permanent unintermitting Causes: Wherefore some have been inclined to propose the diurnal Rotation of the Earth upon its Axis, by which, as the Globe turns Eastward, the loose and fluid Particles of the Air being so exceeding light, are left behind; so that in respect of the Earth's Surface that moves Westward and becomes a constant Easterly Wind. This Opinion seems confirm'd,

because these Winds are found only near the Equinoctial, in those Parallels of Latitude where the diurnal Motion is swiftest; but the constant Calms in the *Atlantick* Sea, near the Equator, the Westerly Winds near the Coast of *Guiney*, and the periodical Westerly *Monsoons*, under the Equator in the *Indian* Seas, seemingly declare the Insufficiency of this Hypothesis.

Besides, the Air being kept to the Earth by the Principle of Gravity, would, in time, acquire the same Degree of Velocity that the Earth's Surface moves with, as well in respect of the diurnal Rotation, as of the annual about the Sun, which is about Thirty times swifter.

It remains therefore to substitute some other Cause, capable of producing a like constant Effect, not liable to the same Objections, but agreeable to the known Properties of the Elements of Air and Water, and the Laws of the Motion of fluid Bodies: Such a one is the Action of the Sun's Beams upon the Air and Water, as he passes every Day over the Oceans, considered [together with the Nature of the Soil, and Situation of the adjoining Continents.

Therefore according to the Laws of Statics, the Air which is less rarefied or expanded by Heat, and consequently more ponderous, must have a Motion round those Parts thereof which are more rarefied, and less ponderous, to bring it to an *Equilibrium*; also the Presence of the Sun continually shifting to the Westward, and consequently, the Tendency of the whole Body of the lower Air is that way.

Thus a general Easterly Wind is formed, which being impressed upon all the Air of a vast Ocean, the Parts impell one another, and so keep moving till the next Return of the Sun, whereby so much of the Motion as was lost, is again restored, and thus the Easterly Wind is made perpetual.

From

From the same Principle it follows, that the Easterly Wind should, on the North-side of the Equator, be to the Northward of the East, and in South Latitudes, to the Southward thereof; for near the Line, the Air is much more rarefied, than at a greater Distance from it, because the Sun is twice in the Year vertical there, and at no time distant above Twenty-three Degrees and one Half; at which Distance, the Heat being at the Sine of the Angle of Incidence, is but little short of the perpendicular Ray: Whereas, under the Tropicks, tho' the Sun stays long vertical, yet he is as long Forty-seven Degrees off, which is a kind of Winter, wherein the Air so cools, as that the Summer Heat cannot warm it to the same Degree with that under the Equator; wherefore the Air towards the Northward and Southward being less rarefied than that in the Middle, it follows, that from both Sides it ought to tend towards the Equator. This Motion, compounded, with the former Easterly Wind, answers all the Phenomena of the general Trade-Winds, which if the whole Surface of the Globe were Sea, would undoubtedly blow all round the World, as they are found to do in the *Atlantick* and *Ethiopick* Oceans; but seeing that so great Continents interpose, and break the Continuity of the Oceans, Regard must be had to the Nature of the Soil, and the Position of the high Mountains, which are the two principal Causes of the several Variations of the Wind from the former general Rule; for if a Country lying near the Sun, prove to be flat, sandy and low Land, such as the Desarts of *Lybia*, the Heat occasioned by the Reflection of the Sun-beams, and the Retention thereof in the Sands, is incredible to those that have not felt it; whereby the Air being exceedingly rarefied, it is necessary, that this cooler and more dense Air should run thitherwards, to restore the *Equilibrium*. This is supposed to be the Cause, why, near the Coast of *Guiney*, the Wind always

sets in upon the Land, blowing Westerly instead of Easterly, there being sufficient Reason to believe, that the inland Parts of *Africa* are prodigiously hot, since the Northern Borders thereof were so intemperate, as to give the Ancients Cause to conclude, that all beyond the Tropicks was made uninhabitable by Excess of Heat.

From the same Cause it happens, there are so constant Calms in that Part of the Ocean, called the *Rains*; for this Tract being placed in the Middle between the Westerly Winds blowing on the Coast of *Guiney*, and the Easterly Trade-Winds blowing to the Westward thereof, the Tendency of the Air here is indifferent to either, and so stands in *Æquilibrio* between both; and the Weight of the incumbent Atmosphere being diminished by the continual contrary Winds blowing from hence, is the Reason that the Air holds not here the copious Vapour it receives, but lets it fall in frequent Rains.

But as the cool and dense Air, by reason of its greater Gravity, presses upon the hot and rarefied, 'tis demonstrable, that this latter must ascend in a continued Stream as fast as it rarefies; and that, being ascended, it must disperse itself to preserve the *Æquilibrium*; that is, by a contrary Current, the upper Air must move from those Parts where the greatest Heat is; so, by a kind of Circulation, the North-east Trade-Wind below, and the South-easterly, and North-west Wind, will be attended with a South-westerly above. That this is more than a bare Conjecture, the almost instantaneous Change of the Wind to the opposite Point, which is frequently found in passing the Limits of the Trade-Winds, seems to assure us; but that which, above all confirms this Hypothesis, is the Phænomenon of the *Monsoons*, by this means most easily solved, and without it hardly explicable.

We had not proceeded a great deal further, till we saw the *Pilot-fish*, so called, because 'tis never
seen

seen but when the Shark is near; we tried every possible Method to kill it, but it eluded all the Baits we could use. 'Tis indeed the most curious Creature I ever saw, and makes the gayest Appearance in the Water that Fancy can imagine; its Body was diversified with a Thousand shining Colours, and so agreeably chequer'd, that it gave great Pleasure to behold it. Its Appearance made the Sailors conclude there was a Shark not far off; and therefore they soon baited a very large Hook with a Piece of Beef, and in less than two Hours found that destructive Animal fast upon it; they drew it up at great Leisure, and the Carpenter stood ready with his Hatchet to cut it to-pieces when brought aboard, which he began to do as soon as within his Reach. I heartily wished they had not been so eager to destroy it; for by that means I lost the Opportunity of observing it so nicely as I would otherwise have done. By what I could judge, it was shaped like a Sea-dog, and of a monstrous Size. The Head was of the very same make, the Teeth were thick-set, and of several Rows, triangular, indented and very sharp; it has a very long Gullet, and in the Belly of it are oftentimes found the Bodies of Men half eaten, sometimes whole and intire; it is covered with a rough, but close-grain'd Skin, with which the Trunk and Case-makers cover a great many Sorts of Boxes and Trunks. 'Tis without Doubt the most destructive Creature that inhabits the watery Element, and is so terrible, that few here will bathe in the Sea for Fear of being devoured by it.

Thus our Time passed very agreeably, and in a few Weeks we made Land: The first that appeared caused an inexpressible Joy; with eager Eyes we gazed on the distant Mountains, and felt unusual Raptures at the first View of the New World. We were fond to go ashore; the Cap-

tain indulged us in our Desire ; we put in at *St. Christopher's*, and were very handsomely entertained. The Gentlemen of *Basseterre* (which is the chief Town of that Island) seem to be well-bred, of an easy Carriage, gay with their Friend, affable to Strangers, and agreeable in Conversation. We were used with the greatest Civility, and treated with a great many Delicacies which only *America* affords : Here we first eat of the Tortoise, and saw the Pine-apple : 'Twas here we had the first View of the Sugar-cane, and the beautiful Fields fenced round with Rows of Limes. I can't enough commend their Generosity ; they used us well ; and when we were about to depart, expressed the same Concern, as if we had been their long and intimate Acquaintance.

After a short Stay there, and providing ourselves with several Necessaries, we again set Sail. There is a strong Current which sets in from East to West, occasioned by the constant Winds, and the Cluster of Islands which are here, and go under the general Name of the *Caribbees*. This favoured us so much, that on the seventh Day after we left *St. Christopher's*, we got within Sight of *Jamaica*. At a little Distance, this Island makes a grand Appearance ; the high-rising Mountains ever green, and cover'd with Wood, and the little Plantations on their Sides, and in the Vallies below, furnish a Prospect which is awful, and yet gives Delight. We gently sailed along the Shore, never wearied with gazing on what was now to be our Country and our Home ; and I could not help a Croud of thoughts, which on this Occasion, pressed too fast upon me ; sometimes, with Sighs, I remembered the happy Climates, and the dear Acquaintance I had left behind. *Britannia* rose to my View all-gay, with native Freedom blest, the Seat of Arts, the Nurse of Learning, and Friend of every Virtue ; where the meanest Swain, with quiet Ease, possesses the Fruits of his hard
Toil

Toil, without Disturbance ; while I was now to settle in a Place not half inhabited, cursed with intestine Broils, where Slavery was established, and the poor toiling Wretches worked in the sultry Heat, and never knew the Sweets of Liberty, or reap'd the Advantage of their painful Industry, in a Place, which except the Verdure of its Fields, had nothing to recommend it.

With such Thoughts was my mind agitated, when *Port-Royal* offered itself to our View. Here we cast Anchor, and went ashore. At this Point is *Fort-Charles*, which guards the Inlet to the Harbour or Bay, and is one of the best Fortifications in *America*. We got a Boat and made for *Kingston*, at the Distance of about five Miles ; one can't get at it by Land from *Port-Royal*, without taking a Compass of upwards of Fifteen Miles, and that too is a very dangerous Way.

Kinston is a fine Town, well situated and large ; here the most considerable Merchants reside, which makes it a Place of vast Trade ; 'tis here likewise the Ships load and unload, and you'll never see less than Two or Three hundred Vessels in the Bay before it.

As we had a great many Servants on board, and some of them fine Tradesmen, we had soon a Number of the Planters who came to purchase Indentures. It was affecting to see the Shoal of Buyers, and how the poor Fellows were made to pass in Review before their future Tyrants, who looked at them, and examined them, as if they had been so many Horses. Each chose whom he liked best ; a good Tradesman went off at about Forty Pound, and others at Twenty Pound *per* Head ; they had lived so easily and well during the Voyage, that they looked healthful, clean and fresh, and for this Reason were soon sold. While another Vessel, from the same Port brought in, a little after, a Multitude of poor starved Creatures,
that

that seemed like so many Skeletons: Misery appeared in their Looks, and one might read the Effects of Sea-tyranny by their wild and dejected Countenances. 'Tis horrid to relate the Barbarities they complained of: A word or a wrong Look was construed a Design to mutiny; and Hunger, Handcuffs, and a Cat o' nine Tails, was immediately the Punishment.

But I must acquaint you 'tis only aboard of a few Vessels where such Cruelties are practised. The Generality of Captains are too good and too generous, to be guilty of such Baseness; they have juster Notions of Honour than to torture the Helpless, or make the miserable more unhappy. The Servants have a Right to good Usage; their Masters pay their Passage; why should they by them be mal-treated, because they have obliged themselves (by Contract) to serve a limited Number of Years?

I shall continue from Time to Time to acquaint you with what I look upon as curious, and endeavour at Truth and Exactness in all I relate.

I am S I R, Yours, &c.

L E T T E R II.

S I R,

WHATEVER dismal Apprehensions I might have formed on my first Arrival, I now find this Place has too many Beauties not to engage my Attention. It produces a thousand surprising Curiosities. Kind Nature, in Return for a sultry Sun, has blessed it with Varieties few Countries can boast of. I'm busied in making Collections, which in time may entertain you: mean while it will be necessary to give you some Idea of the Place.

'Tis

'Tis situate in 17 Deg. 40 Min. North Latitude; about 18 Leagues from *Cuba*; 24 from *Hispaniola*, and 140, South-west, from *Carthage-na*; near 160 Miles long, and 55 broad; of an oval Figure, grows narrower from the Middle, till it terminates in two Points, which are the Extremities of the Island; it contains upwards of four Millions of Acres: a Ridge of Hills divides it, which run from Sea to Sea, nearly East and West. Abundance of fine Rivers take here their Rise, and flow from both Sides in gentle Streams, refreshing their Vallies as they glide along; and furnishing sweet and cool Water for the Use of the Inhabitants. They are well stored with Fish of various Kinds; and tho' we cannot boast of their containing many of the *European*, yet these which they nourish are no less delicious. The Mullet is exceeding palatable, and the Calipever little inferior to the finest Salmon: They excel in Sweetness any that I know. We have Eels and Cray-fish in great Plenty, and abundance of others, which I will take occasion to name and describe at another time. None of these Rivers are navigable, or indeed could be made so without a vast Expence: Some of them are so large, that Sugars are carried upon them in Canoes from the remote Plantations to the Sea-side. An exact Catalogue of them no Man can pretend to give; for several disappear after a Storm, or alter their Course, and lose their Names; some run for many Miles under Ground, particularly the *Rio Cobre* in *St. Thomas's in the Vale*; and *Rio Pedro* in the same Precinct: The first of these loses itself at the Distance of nine Miles from the Place, where it again appears; and the other runs about two Miles thro' a Mountain; it falls in with a mighty Noise, and rushes forth with no less. The *Negroes*, when they go a fishing, stop the Inlet of the Water, and enter with Ease in the Cavity on the other Side, where they fish a little way with good Success. This River is only 12 Miles

Miles distant from *Spanish-Town*, and runs thro' Counsellor *Totterdale's* Plantation. The other is about 22 Miles, and issues from the Mountain called *Monte Diablo*, near Mr. *Lord's* Dwelling-House.

This Island is very well watered, except in some Places, where it is brackish, and unfit for Use; there they use Rain-water, which is found exceeding wholesome; but one will rarely find a Place where they are reduced to this Shift, but in the Mountains belonging to *St. Katharine's*, the *Cattle-penns* in the same District, the Parish of *Port-Royal*, or in some inconsiderable *Savannahs*.

The Mountains, and indeed the greatest Part of the Island, are covered with Woods, which never lose their Verdure, but look for ever green, and are gay in every Season: 'Tis here an eternal Spring; the Beauties of *December* equal the Bloom of *April*. You see a thousand various Kinds of Trees adorning the Brow of every Hill, irregularly mixing their different Branches, appearing in a gay kind of Confusion, forming Groves and cool Retreats; the *Cedar*, the *Lignum vitæ*, the *Mahogany*, and unnumbered others, mingling their Boughs; the one rearing its lofty Head, and others thriving under its friendly Shade: Nor are the Beauties of the better cultivated Vallies inferior to these; they too wear the verdant Robe of Nature, and please no less, while laid out with the nicest Art and Care, and produce the richest Plants in the Universe; as, the Sugar-cane, the Ginger, and others, which are better to their Owners than a Share in the Mines of *Potosi*. We can likewise boast of the finest Orange and Lemon-trees, in great Plenty. Fruits are so common, that few mind them: On the Way-sides you may pick the Star-apple, the Guava, the Citron, the Mamee, and others. One would be apt to imagine we were here in a kind of Paradise; but these Advantages are balanced with some Things that are disagreeable enough. The Rivers
contain

contain the dreadful *Alligator*; the Fens and Marshes, the *Guana* and *Galliwasp*: The Mountains are some of them impassable, and breed numberless Snakes, and noxious Animals. We are exposed to the scorching Heat of a sultry Sun, and the warm Climate makes the Place sickly.

Our longest Day is little above 13 Hours, and the Night proportionably. About Nine in the Forenoon 'tis intolerably hot, and could scarce be endured, did not the Sea-breeze, which generally begins to blow about that time temperate, and make the Warmth so moderate, that Persons can apply to Business, and the *Negroes* work in the Fields; and, without Doubt, were it not for the kindly Effects of the constant Winds, which blow from Nine till Five; no Creature could inhabit here. They are seen gently to approach the Shore in a fine, small, black Curl upon the Water, while the Sea, not yet reached by it, is smooth and even as can be imagined: In half an Hour after it has reached the Shore, it fans pretty briskly, and so increases gradually till about Twelve, when 'tis commonly strongest, and lasts till Two or Three; when it begins to die away; and withdraw its Force by degrees till quite spent, (which is about Five o'Clock) and returns no more till next Morning. The People here give it the Name of *Doctor*, and truly it deserves the Title; for did it not blow, How dismal would the Consequence be? The hot and moist Temperament of the Air would soon bring on Plagues, and other epidemical Distempers, and in a short time turn all to a Desert; but these Evils are provided against by the wise Contriver of Things, who has made these friendly Gales to blow and temper the Air, that we need not be afraid of such Evils, or hindered going about our lawful Employments.

Sometimes here the Nights are pretty cool; for the Sun being far under the Horizon, there are scarce any reflected Rays to enlighten the Air; which

which causes the Cold to increase, and the Air being thereby condensed, to fall down by its Weight. Every Night there happens a piercing Dew, which is looked upon as mighty unwholesome; and New-comers, who expose themselves to its Influence, seldom escape without a severe Sickness. Twilight here is not above Three Quarters of an Hour; the common Hypothesis (the Sun's being 18 Degrees under the Horizon) would make it a full Hour; but the Air there being so gross, is not so high as requisite to make Twilight at the Distance of 18 Degrees; and besides this Supposition requires very small Light, such as is scarce noticeable.

There are likewise in this Place two Springs, or two Seasons for planting Grain. We do not reckon a Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, as with you. We have the wet and the dry Season, and this is all the Distinction we know or use; neither are these at all regular, but vary in many Parts of the Island; about *Blue Mountain Valley*, and several hilly Places, they have Rains every Day, more or less, the whole Year round; and plant the Sugar-cane, at the very same time they are cutting others for Use. In the North-side the Seasons are pretty regular; they begin to plant in *August*, and continue till *Christmas*; all which Time they are sure of Rains; after that, till the end of *March*, they have none; when it again begins, and continues *April* and *May*. In the Plantations on the South-side, the Seasons have much failed. *Liguania* is quite dry, and fine Sugar-works, that used to produce many hundred Hogheads, are now carried into *Cattle-pens*.

This likewise is the Fate of the fine Parishes of *St. Katherine's*, *St. Dorothy's* and *Vere*, which once were the choicest and richest Spots in the whole Island, but now are good for little but to graze Cattle; they are dry for almost Nine Months, and at *Port-Royal* there scarce fall Forty Show-

ers in a Year. The Reason of this is ascribed to the cutting of the Woods ; for without Doubt, the Trees gathered and retained large Quantities of Vapours, which again were diffused in Dews and Showers ; and 'tis only in these Places, where the Rains seldom fall, that their Water is unwholesome or brackish. The Months of *July, August* and *September*, are called the Hurricane Months, because then they have been observed to happen most frequent ; and scarce a Year passes, but they have something that resembles a Storm during that time. It lightens almost every Night, but without much Thunder ; which when it happens, is very terrible, roars with astonishing Loudness, and oftentimes does a great deal of Damage. The Time they expect Earthquakes is in *February* or *March* : They have suffered much by such violent Shocks, and observe several Days in a very solemn manner, on account of Storms and Earthquakes, with which they have been almost destroyed.

According to the best Observations I have been able to make, there is not One of Three Parts of this Country inhabited. There are Plantations round the Island, but none at any great Distance from the Sea ; and even these are so far from being cultivated, that one half of the Ground is not cleared, but overgrown with Wood : A Gentleman that has patented three or four thousand Acres, perhaps has five hundred of them well laid out and improved, the rest useless. The Soil in some Places is exceeding fertile ; one Acre has been known to yield several Hogsheds of Sugar ; yet here-and-there one finds *Savannahs* or large Plains, where the *Indians* are used to plant their Maize, and which afterwards the *Spaniards* made use of for breeding their Cattle : These are now quite bare and barren, and in a short time, I'm afraid, several other Places will partake of the same Fate.

Round

Round the Island are a great many fine Bays ; as *Port-Royal*, *Port-Morant*, *Old-Harbour*, *Point-Negril*, *Port-Antonio*, *Michael's-Hole*, *Alligator-Pond*, *Point-Pedro*, *Paratee-Bay*, *Luana-Bay*, *Blewfield's-Bay*, *Cabaretas-Bay*, *Cold-Harbour*, *Rio Novo*, *Montigo-Bay*, *Orange-Bay*, and many others, which are convenient for Shipping ; and some of [them might be improved to excellent Purposes in case of a War with *Spain* ; for a Fleet might lie with the greatest Safety, and watch the Motions of any Ships from the *Havannab*.

There are only three Towns of any Note, *Port-Royal*, *Kingston*, and *Spanish-Town*.

Port-Royal was once the fairest Sea-port in *America* ; it flowed in Riches and Trade, but now is only a small Place ; and yet it consists of three handsome Streets, several cross Lanes and a fine Church : They have here an Hospital for sick or disabled Sailors, and there is lately built a Yard for the King's naval Stores, and Conveniency of Workmen employed about his Majesty's Ships of War. It is built on a small Neck of Land, which jets out several Miles into the Sea, and is guarded by one of the strongest Forts in the *West-Indies*, which has a Line of near an Hundred Pieces of Cannon, and a Garison of Soldiers maintained at the Expence of the Crown. The Harbour is, perhaps, one of the best in the World ; a Thousand Sail of Ships may ride there, and be secure from every Wind which can blow : 'Tis Five Miles by Water, and Six more by Land, distant from *Spanish-Town*, and about the same Distance of Water betwixt it and *Kingston*.

Kingston was built after the great Earth-quake 1692, which destroyed *Port-Royal*. The Plan of the Town was drawn by Colonel *Christian Lilly*, yet alive, and then chief Engineer in *Lillingston's* Expedition to the *West-Indies*. After its fatal Misfortune

Miscarriage thro' the Pride and Avarice of the Commodore, the Regiment came to *Jamaica*, where it was broke, and this Gentleman and several other Officers, continued on the Island. He has since done good Service, and has now the Place of his Majesty's chief Engineer here.

According to his Plan *Kingston* was built, and is now a large thriving Town; it will be a Mile long, and half a one broad, laid out into little Squares by cross Streets; here the inferior Courts sit, and the Receiver-General, Naval Officer, Secretary and Surveyor, are obliged to keep Offices: it increases daily, and now mounts Ten Companies of Foot, and Two Troops of Horse; and, in case of a War, would be another *Port-Royal*. It has one Church with a poor Burying-place. The *Jews* have here two Synagogues, and the *Quakers* a Place of Meeting. It is bounded by the Harbour of *Port-Royal* to the South-west, and North by Lands patented by *Sir William Beefton*, and continued by a Calabash-tree, on the North-east Corner by a strait Line to the Foot of the long Mountain, from thence, till it meets with the Bounds of the Parish of *Port-Royal*. It is distant from *Spanish-Town* 19 Miles the Land-way; by Sea six, and six further by Land.

Spanish-Town is the chief City; 'tis there the Governor resides, and there the Assembly and the grand Courts of Justice are kept: It was built by the *Spaniards*, and by them termed *St. Jago de la Vega*; which Name it yet retains in all publick Deeds and Writings. 'Tis situated in a fine pleasant Valley, on the Banks of the *Rio Cobre*, and has all the Advantages that could be wished. It was once a large and populous Town, consisting of upwards of 2000 Houses, Two Churches, and a Monastery, besides several private Chapels. Now 'tis reduced to a small Compass, has one fine Church

Church and a Chapel, and contains not upwards of 500 Inhabitants. Being an inland Place, its Trade is inconsiderable ; but several wealthy Merchants reside there, and most Gentlemen of Estates have Houses in it, and live after a very gay manner. 'Tis surprizing to see the Number of Coaches and Chariots which are perpetually plying, besides those which belong to private Persons : They have frequent Balls, and lately have got a Play-house, where they retain a Set of extraordinary good Actors. In short, they live as happily as if they were within the Verge of the *British* Court : And, to do them Justice, they seem perfectly polite, and have a Delicacy of Behaviour, which is exceeding taking.

There are several other inconsiderable Towns, which scarce deserve Notice. We see the Ruins of *Sevilla* and *Orestan*, and several others built by the *Spaniards* ; some of the Ground where they formerly stood, now produces the Sugar-cane, and other common Commodities in the Island. In time the Town of *Titch-field* may become considerable ; it is situated near *Port-Antonio*, which contains a very handsome and regular Fort, designed to guard that Part of the Island from any Surprise ; a few Soldiers are still there under a Captain's Command. They are now about building a kind of Town, at a Place they call *Bagnels*, in the Parish of *St. Anne's* ; a good Space of Ground is laid out for that Purpose ; but, I'm afraid, this Design will prove abortive, as several others have done of the same Nature. There is a small Town in the Parish of *St. David's*, called *Free-Town*, and *Passage-Fort* in *St. Katherine's* ; this last consists of about Fifty Houses, and being the only Place where one can take Boat either for *Kingston* or *Port-Royal*, it draws a great many Strangers, which gives it a thriving and increasing Trade. *Carlisle* in *Vere* is another inconsiderable Village ; there

there was a Fort erected there after the Invasion of the *French* in 1695 ; but it is now in Ruins : These are all that deserve any Notice. We have the Island divided into Nineteen Parishes or Precincts ; viz. 1. *Kingston*. 2. *Port-Royal*. 3. *St. Katherine's*. 4. *St. Dorothy's*. 5. *Clarendon*. 6. *Vere*. 7. *St. Elizabeth's*. 8. *Hanover*. 9. *Westmorland*. 10. *St. George's*. 11. *St. James's*. 12. *St. Anne's*. 13. *St. Mary's*. 14. *Portland*. 15. *St. Thomas in the East*. 16. *St. David's*. 17. *St. Andrew's*. 18. *St. John's* ; and 19. *St. Thomas in the Vale*.

We must not look for the Beauties of Architecture here ; the publick Buildings are neat, but not fine. The Churches in the Towns are generally in Form of a Cross with a small Cupola at Top, the Walls built high, and paved within, but adorned with no manner of Finery. In *Spanish-Town* they have an Organ, which is reckoned a very complete one, and another in *St. Andrew's* ; the other Churches are decent small Houses, scarce to be known for such : The Clergy trouble them little, and their Doors are seldom open. The Governor's House faces the great Parade in *Spanish-Town* : One Part of it consists of two Stories ; it was lately rebuilt by his Grace the Duke of *Portland*, and is of Stone, a very commodious House ; a little Court adjoins to the great Dwelling-house, where are several handsome Apartments, now commonly used only for lodging his Excellency's Servants ; it has a curious Garden towards the West, which is generally kept in excellent Repair.

The Court-house, where the Chief Justice and his Assistants sit in Time of Session, is a small square Building, about Forty Foot each way ; the Seats of the Judges are considerably raised, almost ten Feet from the Level ; the Provost Marshal has a Chair placed for him on the Right-hand, and the Lawyers have Seats at a good Distance

stance opposite to the Judges. The King's Attorney sits always in the Middle, in a large Chair kept for that Use.

The Goals are excellently contrived ; for the Prisoners have the Liberty of a very large Yard to walk in, which prevents the bad Consequences their close Confinement might produce in such a warm Climate.

The Gentlemen's Houses are generally built low, of one Story, consisting of five or six handsome Apartments, beautifully lined and floored with Mahogany, which looks exceeding beautiful ; they have generally a Piazza, to which you ascend by several Steps, and serves for a Screen against the Heat, and likewise is a way of enjoying the Benefit of any Coolness in the Air. In the Towns there are several Houses which are two Stories ; but that way of Building is disapproved of, because they seldom are known to stand the Shock of an Earthquake, or the Fury of a Storm.

The Negroes have nothing but a Parcel of poor miserable Huts built of Reeds, none of which can contain upwards of two or three Persons.

There are few Gardens which deserve Notice ; the chief Curiosities they produce are Cabbage, *English* Pease, some Kinds of *European* Fruits, and others peculiar to the Place. It is found, the Apple-tree never comes to any Perfection, or bears but a very few Years ; and the same may be said of other Fruits, which thrive best in colder Climates : And indeed, would they lay out their Gardens, and furnish them with such Things as here would thrive, they would be beautiful enough ; but they disdain the Citron, the Orange, or the Lemon, the Cocoa or Pomegranate ; and prefer, to the beautiful Shades and Fragrancy of these, a Parcel of Shrubs which are of no manner of Use.

The

The common Drink here is *Madera* Wine, or Rum-Punch; the first, mixed with Water, is used by the better Sort; the latter, by Servants, and the inferior kind of People. The *Madera* is a wholesome Wine, and agrees perfectly well with one's Constitution in this Place; 'tis cheap, only about Twenty Pounds *per* Pipe, and a single Quart may be had for Fifteen Pence. There is a Duty on every Pipe of Forty Shillings to the King, which is duly paid; for there is nothing like smuggling here. 'Tis computed, near 10,000 Pipes are yearly imported hither, which are either consumed in the Island, or carried to other adjacent Colonies for Sale. Rum-Punch is not improperly called *Kill-devil*; for Thousands lose their Lives by its means: When New-comers use it to the least Excess, they expose themselves to imminent Peril; for it heats the Blood and brings on Fevers, which in a very few Hours send them to their Grave. The greatest Moderation is necessary in using it, and could it be avoided altogether, 'twere much better; at least, till one be well seasoned to the Place. By a late Act, all retailed Rum pays Seven Pence Halfpenny *per* Gallon Duty, and the Retailer is sworn to the Quantities he sells. They want not other kinds of Liquors, which are common with you, but at excessive high Rates: Ale is Half a Crown a Bottle, Clarret Seven Shillings and Sixpence, and so of the rest. All Wines imported in Bottles pay a Duty so much *per* Dozen.

The common Bread here is Plantain, Yams or Cassava; the first is of an oblong Figure, grows in Clusters on a Tree, and when pulled green, and roasted, eats very deliciously. The Yams are a Root, and I think, a kind of Potatoe, but of a vastly larger Size: Some of them weigh several Pounds; they make very good Bread, and Cassava no worse; which is the Root of a Shrub taken and squeezed, (for the Cassava Juice

Juice is a mortal Poison) and, when dry, grated, and put in Water where it stands a considerable Time: The Water being poured off, and the Flour dry, they strew a little of it on a Gridiron, which makes a Cake that is white and crisp, and much in Request here, being preferred by our Creoles to any other Bread whatsoever. They do not want Flour from *New-England*, and the Northern Colonies. In every House they have an Oven, and bake as they find Occasion. They use no Yeast but Leaven; but their Loaves are so bad, that few chuse to eat them. There are here such great plenty of Hogs, that few Plantations but have several Hundreds; their Flesh is so sweet and delicate, that nothing can equal it. They have other kinds of Meat, particularly the Tortoise, which is fine, and exquisitely pleasant. Their Beef is tough and lean, scarce fit for any thing but Soups. The Mutton and Lamb is tolerable. Sheep here have no Wool, but Hair like a Goat, and seem to be of a larger Size than ours. The Prices of Meat have been frequently regulated by Acts of Assembly; Beef is now Seven-pence half-penny *per* Pound, Mutton and Hog the same, Lamb and Veal Fifteen-pence. The Servants seldom are allowed any fresh Provisions, but feed on *Irish* salt Beef, which sometimes is exceeding coarse. The Negroes have Herrings and salt Fish at very easy Rates. The Island is well furnished with salt Cod from *Newfoundland*, which have lately been so cheap, as to be sold for Ten Shillings *per* Hundred Weight. With these they make their Oglio's or Pepper-pots, which some here are exceeding fond of; they take Callilu, which is the Top of a small Root, and boil it with beaten Maiz or *Indian* Corn, which they call *Fu Fu*) Herring, salt Fish, and red Pepper, and, when 'tis ready, eat it as we do Broth. The Negroes make a hearty Feast on a Rat. The Island is quite overrun with these Animals; they nest among the Canes,

Canes, and feed on their Juice ; they do incredible Damage to the Sugar Plantations, and several times in a Year they are forced to scatter Poison round the Cane-pieces : Yet none of these Methods prevail ; they still increase ; and therefore the Gentlemen encourage their Slaves to destroy them, who lay Traps and catch them in great Numbers. They have a Bottle of Rum for every Fifty, and they broil and eat them with a great deal of Pleasure. They likewise feed on Cats, and at their Feasts seldom want one handsomely fricasey'd.

The common Dress here is none of the most becoming : The Heat makes many Clothes intolerable, and therefore the Men generally wear only Thread Stockings, Linen Drawers and Waistcoats, a Handkerchief tied round their Head, and a Hat above. Wigs are never used but on *Sundays*, or in Court-time ; and then Gentlemen appear very gay in Silk Coats, and Waistcoats trimmed with Silver. The Servants wear a coarse *Osnabrug* Frock, which buttons at the Neck and Hands, long Trowsers of the same, a speckled Shirt, and no Stockings. Negroes go mostly naked, except those who attend Gentlemen, who take care to have them dressed in their own Livery, tho' 'tis the utmost Pain to the uneasy Slave.

The Ladies are as gay as any where in *Europe*, dress as richly, and appear with as good a Grace. Their Morning Habit is a loose Night-gown, carelessly wrapped about them ; before Dinner they get out of their Dishabille, and shew themselves in all the Advantage of a becoming rich neat Dress. The Servant-Maids have generally a Linen or striped Holland Gown, and plain Head-clothes. The Negro Women go many of them quite naked ; they do not know what Shame is, and are surprised at an *European's* Bashfulness, who perhaps turns his Head aside at the Sight. Their Masters give them a kind of a Petticoat, but they do not care

to wear it. In the Towns they are obliged to do it, and some of them there go neat enough; but these are the Favourites of young Squires, who keep them for a certain Use.

Learning here is at the lowest Ebb; there is no publick School in the whole Island, neither do they seem fond of the thing; several large Donations have been made for such Uses, but have never taken Effect. The Office of a Teacher is looked upon as contemptible, and no Gentleman keeps Company with one of that Character; to read, write, and cast Accounts, is all the Education they desire, and even these are but scurvily taught. A Man of any Parts or Learning, that would employ himself in that Business, would be despised and starve. The Gentlemen whose Fortunes can allow it, send their Children to *Great-Britain*, where they have the Advantage of a polite and generous Education; but others are spoil'd, and make such an inconsiderable Figure ever after, that they are the common Butt in every Conversation. Mr. *Beckford* has lately bequeathed 2000 *l. Sterling*, for a Free-school: It is doubtful whether this Gentleman's Intentions will be answered by the Managers; for by their way of proceeding, there is small Appearance they design to encourage Men of Merit to take upon them such an Office. Several have lately offered themselves, who were every way qualified for the Undertaking; and some promised themselves Success, from the good Disposition they perceived in many to encourage their Design; but after a Trial were of Necessity obliged to quit it. 'Tis Pity, in a Place like this, where the Means could be so easily afforded, something of a publick Nature should not be done for the Advantage of Posterity; but when such a Spirit will appear, is hard to determine. There are indeed several Gentlemen who are well acquainted with Learning in some of its most valuable Branches: but these are few; and the Generality seem
to

to have a greater Affection for the modish Vice of Gaming than the *Belles Lettres*, and love a Pack of Cards better than the *Bible*. To talk of a *Homer*, or a *Virgil*, of a *Tully*, or a *Demosthenes*, is quite unpolite; and it cannot be otherwise; for a Boy, till the Age of Seven or Eight, diverts himself with the Negroes, acquires their broken way of talking, their Manner of Behaviour, and all the Vices which these unthinking Creatures can teach: Then perhaps he goes to School; but young Master must not be corrected; if he learns, 'tis well; if not, it can't be helped. After a little Knowledge of reading he goes to the Dancing-school, and commences Beau, learns the common Topicks of Discourse, and visits and rakes with his Equals. This is their Method; and how can it be supposed one of such a Turn can entertain any generous Notions, distinguish the Beauties of Virtue, act for the Good of his Country, or appear in any Station of Life, so as to deserve Applause? Some of the Ladies read, they all dance a great deal, coquet much, dress for Admirers; and at last, for the most part, run away with the most insignificant of their humble Servants. Their Education consists entirely in acquiring these little Arts. 'Tis a thousand Pities they do not improve their Minds, as well as their Bodies; they would then be charming Creatures indeed!

The current Coin here is entirely *Spanish*; you do not see any *English* Money but in the Closets of the Curious. I believe there is no Place where the Silver is so plenty. They use no Copper; the lowest Piece is a Ryal, which here passes for Sevenpence Half-penny, but a Half-penny in *Britain* will go a great deal further: Indeed considering the excessive dear Living, there ought to be good Wages, and Money in plenty. You can't dine for less than a Piece of Eight, and the common Rate of Boarding is Three Pounds *per Week*. The Difference betwixt our Money and *British*, is 25

per Cent. 75 *l. Sterling* makes 100 *l. Jamaica*
Currency. For your Satisfaction and Use, I shall
 subjoin a Table of the Money here.

A TABLE of Money.

		<i>Sterling.</i>		
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1	Ryal is - - - -	00	00	07 half-penny.
2	- - - - -	00	00	15
3	- - - - -	00	01	10 half-penny.
4	- - - - -	00	02	06
5	- - - - -	00	03	01 half-penny.
6	- - - - -	00	03	09
7	- - - - -	00	04	04 half-penny.
8	- - - - -	00	05	00
9	- - - - -	00	05	07 half-penny.
10,	or a Piece of Eight,	00	06	03
2	Pieces of Eight,	00	12	06
3	- - - - -	00	18	09
38	Ryals - - - -	01	03	09 is a Pistole.
4	Pieces of Eight	01	05	00
5	- - - - -	01	11	03
6	- - - - -	01	17	06
7	- - - - -	02	03	09
8	- - - - -	02	10	00
2	Pistoles - - - -	02	07	06 or a Doubloon.
4	Pistoles - - - -	04	15	00 or a double Dobloon.
16	Pieces of Eight	05	00	00

By this Table you'll readily see, after what
 manner we reckon our Money, and what is the
 Value, in our Currency, of any of the common
 Pieces which we have here: An *English* Guinea
 will fetch Twenty-eight Shillings, a Crown Six
 Shillings and Three-pence, &c. The Reason of
 raising the Value of the Coin, was to prevent
 its being carried out of the Island; but it has
 not had that Effect; for great Quantities are dai-
 ly sent to *Britain*: And we have another Loss;
 the

the *Jews* clip and debase the Coin so much that some Pieces of Eight won't weigh Fifteen Penny-weight, whereas they ought to be Seventeen and a half. There have been lately several Trials for this Crime ; but strong Interest with some in Power, has eluded the deserved Punishments.

They have indeed here the severest ways of punishing. No Country exceeds them in a barbarous Treatment of Slaves, or in the cruel Methods by which they put them to Death : A rebellious Negro, or he that twice strikes a white Man, is condemned to the Flames ; he is carried to the Place of Execution, and chained flat on his Belly, his Arms and Legs extended ; then Fire is set to his Feet, and so he is burnt gradually up : Others they starve to Death, with a Loaf hanging before their Mouths : I have seen these unfortunate Wretches gnaw the Flesh off their own Shoulders, and expire in all the frightful Agonies of one under the most horrid Tortures. Perhaps, indeed, such Severities may in some sort be excused, when we consider the State of the Country, and how impossible it would be to live amidst such Numbers of Slaves, without watching their Conduct with the greatest Strictness, and punishing their Faults with the utmost Severity.

They have lately been very exact in the Distribution of Justice, and are happy in a chief Judge, whose fair, candid, honest Proceedings, have gained him universal Esteem. But, to say the Truth, our young Squires are not much afraid of Courts of Justice. What terrifies a *Jamaica* Man most, are Hurricanes and Earthquakes ; these generally ruin his Estate and endanger or destroy his Life, and for that Reason he trembles at the Thoughts of either.

Hurricanes are so called, from the *Indian* Word *Hurica*, which signifies the Devil : They seldom happen but between the Tropicks, and within the Reach of the Trade-Wind, which blowing

perpetually from the Eastern Points, if it chance to be repelled by a Land-breeze, or any contrary Motion from the West, this must of course occasion strange Conflicts and Commotions in the Air: And were our Senses sufficiently fine, to discern the Commotions of the Atmosphere, we should see it oftentimes disturbed and fluctuating, no less than the most tempestuous Sea. When the constant Wind begins to shift from the Easterly Points, a Hurricane is expected, which indeed is the most violent and terrible of Tempests. Formerly they seldom happened here, but they are now very frequent: Ordinarily the Sea becomes calm on a sudden, and smooth as Glass; presently after, the Air is darkened, and filled with thick and gloomy Clouds; after which, 'tis all on Fire, as it were, and opens on every Side, with dreadful Lightnings, that last a considerable time: Then follow horrible Claps of Thunder that seem as if the Heavens were rent asunder; and the Wind blows with such Impetuosity and Force, that it roots up the tallest and stoutest Trees, beats down Houses, destroys every thing within its Whirl, and often compels Men to catch hold of the Trunks of Trees, to secure themselves from being carried away by the Winds. Some lie in the Caves, or retire into the Huts of the Negroes, which are built exceeding low, and elude the Shocks of the Tempest: In a few Hours, it makes the whole Round of the Heavens, and blows from every Point of the Compass, so that most of the Ships, at that time on the Coast, miserably perish.

When the Storm is over, you behold a very dismal Spectacle; Forests overturned, Houses beaten down, and Multitudes of People destroyed by its Fury, and lying exposed to open View.

As to Earthquakes, Mr. Boyle thinks they are often occasioned by the sudden Fall of ponderous Masses

Masses in the hollow Parts of the Earth, whereby those terrible Shakings and Shocks are produced.

The learned Dr. *Woodward*, in his Essay towards a *Natural History of the Earth*, gives the following Account of Earthquakes.

He supposes the subterranean Heat or Fire, (which is continually elevating Water out of the Abyss, to furnish the Earth with Rain, Dew, Springs, and Rivers) when stopped in any Part of the Earth, and diverted from its ordinary Course, by some accidental Glut, or Obstruction in the Pores or Passages, thro' which it used to ascend to the Surface, becomes by this means, preternaturally assembled in a greater Quantity than usual into one Place, and therefore causes a great Rarefaction and Intumescence of the Water of the Abyss, putting into it very great Commotions and Disorders; and, at the same time, making the like Effort on the Earth, which is expanded upon the Face of the Abyss; and that occasions that Agitation and Concussion of it which we call Earthquakes.

This Effort is in some Earthquakes so vehement, that it splits and tears the Earth, making Cracks and Chasms in it some Miles in length, which open at the Instant of the Shocks, and close again in the Intervals betwixt them; nay, 'tis sometimes so extremely violent, that it plainly forces the superincumbent *Strata*, breaks them all throughout, and thereby perfectly undermines and ruins the Foundation of them; so that these failing, the whole Tract, as soon as ever the Shock is over, sinks down into the Abyss undernath, and is swallowed up by it, the Water thereof immediately raising up, and forming a Lake in the Place where the said Tract was before.

Several considerable Tracts of Land, and some with Cities and Towns standing upon them, as also whole Mountains, many of them very large, and of great Height, have been thus totally swallowed up.

The Effort being made in all Directions indifferently upwards, downwards, and on every Side, the Fire dilating and expanding on all hands, and endeavouring proportionably to the Quantity and Strength of it, to get room, and make its way thro' all Obstacles, has the same Effect upon the Water of the Abyfs beneath, as upon the Water above, forcing it forth which way soever it can find Vent or Passage, as well thro its ordinary Exits, Wells, Springs, and the Outlets of Rivers as through the Chasms then newly opened, thro' the *Camini* or *Spiracles* of *Ætna*, or other near *Vulcano's*, and those *Hiatus's* at the Bottom of the Sea, whereby the Abyfs below opens into it, and communicates with it.

As the Water resident in the Abyfs, is in all Parts of it stored with a considerable Quantity of Heat, and more especially in those, where these extraordinary Aggregations of this Fire happen; so likewise is the Water, which is thus forced out of it; insomuch that when thrown forth, and mixed with the Waters of Springs, Wells, Rivers, and the Sea, it renders them very sensibly hot.

It is usually expelled in vast Quantities, and with great Impetuosity, insomuch that it hath been seen to spout out of deep Wells, and fly forth at the Tops of them upon the Surface of the Ground; with like Rapidity it comes out of the Sources of Rivers, filling them so of a sudden, as to make them overflow the adjacent Territories, without so much as one Drop of Rain falling into them, or any other concurrent Water to raise or augment them.

It issues out of the Chasms opened by the Earthquake in great Abundance, mounting up in mighty Streams to an incredible Height in the Air, and this oftentimes at many Miles Distance from the Sea.

It likewise pours forth of the *Volcano's* in vast Floods, and with wonderful Violence; 'tis forced thro'

thro' the *Hiatus's* at the Bottom of the Sea with such Force that it puts the Sea immediately into the most horrible Disorders and Perturbation, even when there is not the least Breath of Wind stirring, but all till then calm, and making it rage and roar with a hideous and amazing Noise, raising its Surface into prodigious Waves, and tossing and rolling them about in a very strange and furious manner, oversetting Ships in the Harbours, and sinking them to the Bottom.

'Tis refunded out of these *Hiatus's* in such Quantity also, that it makes a vast Addition to the Water of the Sea, raising it many Fathoms higher than ever it flows in the highest Tides; so as to overwhelm the adjacent Country by the most dreadful Innundations, and thereby ruining and destroying Towns and Cities, drowning both Men and Cattle, breaking the Cables of Ships, driving them from their Anchors, and carrying them several Miles up into the Country, and there running them a-ground, stranding Whales and other great Fishes, and leaving them at its Recess upon dry Land.

These Phænomena are not new, or peculiar to the Earthquakes, which have happened in our Time; but have been observed in all Ages, of which History gives us many extraordinary Instances.

The Fire itself which being thus assembled and pent up, is the Cause of all these Perturbations, makes its way forth also by what Passages soever it can get Vent, thro' the Cracks of the Earth above-mentioned, and thro' the Aperture of Springs, especially those of the *Thermæ*, or Baths, or any other way it can either find or make; and being thus discharged, the Earthquake ceaseth till the Causes returns again, and a fresh Collection of Fire commits the same Outrages as before.

There is sometimes in Commotion a Portion of the Abyfs of that vast Extent, as to shake the Earth incumbent upon it, for fo very large a Part of the Globe together, that the Shock is felt precisely the same Minute in Countries many hundred Miles distant from each other; and this, even tho' they happen to be parted by Seas lying betwixt them; and there want not Instances of such an universal Concussion of the Globe as must needs imply an Agitation of the whole Abyfs.

And though the Abyfs be liable to these Commotions in all Parts, and hardly any Country is wholly exempted from its Effects; yet they are no where very remarkable, nor are there usually any great Damages by Earthquakes, except only in those Countries which are mountainous, and consequently stony and cavernous underneath; and especially where the Disposition of the *Strata* is such, that these Caverns open into the Abyfs, and so freely admit and entertain the Fire, which assembling therein, is the Cause of the Shock; for it naturally steers its Course to that Way, where it finds the readiest Reception, which is towards those Caverns; and to this indeed is much owing the Cause of Damps in Mines; besides, that those Parts of the Earth which abound with *Strata* of Stone or Marble, making the strongest Opposition to this Effort, are the most furiously shattered, and suffer much more by it, than those which consist of Gravel, Sand, and the like laxer Matter, which more easily give way, and make not so great Resistance; an Event observable, not only in this, but all other Explosions whatsoever.

But above all, those Countries which yield great Store of Sulphur and Nitre, are by far the most injured by Earthquakes, these Minerals constituting in the Earth a kind of natural Gun-powder, which taking Fire upon this Assemblage and Approach of it, occasions that murmuring Noise, and subterranean Thunder, which is heard rumbling in the

the Bowels of the Earth during the time of Earthquakes; and by the Assistance of its explosive Power, renders the Shock much greater, so as sometimes to make miserable Havock and Destruction.

The sad Effects of such furious Shocks have been more felt in the Island of *Jamaica*, than perhaps in any other Country. The fatal 7th of *June* 1692. will be ever remembered; a Day when they suffered the greatest Calamity that ever besel a People. Towns were sunk, Mountains divided, and one universal Devastation appeared over the whole Island. They have an annual Feast on that Day; and then indeed I have seen something like Charity and Goodness among them. After such Storms or Shocks the Place becomes sickly, and they who escape the Fury of the one, stand a second Chance of being carrid off by the Diseases which generally succeed.

Our political Arithmeticians imagine, once in Seven Years there is a Revolution of Lives in this Island, that as many die in that Space of Time as at once inhabit it; and no doubt the Multitude that dies would soon leave the Place a Desert, did not daily Recruits come over from *Great-Britain*. Scarce a Ship arrives, but has Passengers who design to settle, and Servants for sale. This is a constant Supply, and a necessary one; for notwithstanding their vast Numbers, the Island but slowly settles; and I don't know of Twenty new Plantations have been made these dozen Years past. But after all, I persuade myself, that much of this Mortality is to be ascribed rather to Intemperance than the Climate; for after they have been confined to a regular and hard living in their Voyage, when they once get ashore, and find Plenty of Rum-punch, &c. they run into the other Extreme at once, and swallow it down with Greediness, get drunk, expose themselves to the noxious Dews, are seized with Fevers, and die. Wherefore 'tis my firm Belief, that if New-comers were

were more careful to live moderate, and abstain from the Use of spirituous Liquors, they might live as happily and free of Diseases here as in any other Climate.

The common Distempers which are troublesome here, are high Fevers and Belly-achs. I believe there is seldome any Difference betwixt these Distempers here, and those of the same Sort incident to Mankind in other Places. The Fevers are generally exceeding violent, and a few Hours will carry off the Person it has seized: Few miss it on their first Arrival; and this is the Reason why many die so soon after they come to *Jamaica*. The Physicians order plentiful Bleeding, and if that has not the desired Success, they apply Blisters as the last Remedy.

The Belly-ach is perhaps the severest Pain that can be endured; many lose the Use of their Limbs for ever by it, and during the time of their Illness cry like a Woman in Travail. The common Remedies for this Disease are gentle Doses of Physick, and Clysters; after they are something recovered, the Cold bath is prescribed, which proves of Excellent Use in restoring them to their former Vigour, and the right Exercise of their Limbs. The Physicians here, of any Note, generally make fine Estates; but the Island is quite crouded with raw unexperienced Youths, who imagine this the properest Place for a Settlement; and when they come over, are generally set to prescribe to a Parcel of Negroes in some Country-plantations. Their Numbers make but dull Business for most of them; and in the Towns there are generally one or two eminent Men who have the Employment, and soon get to be rich. *Jamaica* has had several that practised Physick, who make no mean Figure in the learned World, Sir *Hans Sloane* resided here, while he made that noble Collection of Plants, with a Description of which he has obliged the World under the Title of the *Natural History of Jamaica*.

Jamaica. His Nephew Dr. *Fuller* is lately come over, and by his excellent Qualifications recommends himself to the good Graces of every one of Sense; and his Success with his Patients promises him abundance of Business.

Dr. *Clifton*, late Physician to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, practised here with great Applause, and was much esteemed while he lived, and regretted at his Death. Several others deserve to be named, but I would avoid being tedious.

The general Produce of this Island is Sugar, Rum, Ginger, Cotton, Coffee, Indico, Pimento Cocoa, several Kinds of Wood, and some medicinal Drugs; it affords Tobacco, but not of extraordinary Goodness; and for that Reason few plant or cultivate it farther than to provide sufficient for the Use of their Negroes, who could scarce live without it.

No Sorts of *European* Grain grow here; we have only Maiz or *Indian* Corn, *Guiney* Corn, Pease of various Kinds, but none of them resembling yours, with Variety of Roots. Fruits grow in great Plenty, the *Seville* and *China* Orange, the common and sweet Lemon, Shadocks, Citrons, Pomegranates, Mamies, Sour-sops, Papas, Pine-apples, Custard-apples, Star-apples, prickly Pears, Alliacada Pears, Melons, Pompions, Guavas, and several Kind of Berries, which are every where to be found in the Woods.

And now having thus laid down several general Observations, which will be of Use to understand the following Accounts, and may serve to give you an Idea of the Island, I shall in my next proceed to the historical Part, in which I shall use all the Exactness possible.

I am, S I R, Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER III.

S. I R,

THE History of this Island is something obscure, and I shall necessarily be obliged to build a good deal upon Tradition. We have a great many Abstracts of remarkable Occurrences in this Island; but for the most part, they are either such as are confused, or fictitious: I shall take care to secure myself against the first of these Errors, by placing every thing in the natural Order in which it happened; and against the second, by consulting authentick Records, and the Information of Men, who might be supposed to be best acquainted with the Circumstances of the particular Actions.

Jamaica owes its Discovery to the Man who first ploughed the *American* Seas, and found out the New World; that mighty Genius, who was born to attempt the greatest Adventures, I mean *Columbus*; who discovered this Place, in his Return from the Continent of South *America*, and named it *St. James's Isle*; but that Name it soon lost, and was generally called *Jamaica*, which it still retains.

On the first Arrival of the *Spaniards*, the *Indians* appeared in Arms, and bravely resolved to maintain their Liberties against these bold Intruders; and had certainly been successful, at least for a while, if these cunning Cut-throats had not deluded them by specious Shews of Peace, and won on their simple Natures to credit their well-contrived Protestations: But they soon felt the dismal Effects of giving Faith to *Spaniards*; they were no sooner in a Condition of executing their bloody Designs, than they began a miserable Havock, butcher'd murder'd, and destroyed, in a few Years, no less than 60,000 of the Inhabitants, and scarce left one alive. Some retired to the Woods,

and

and absconded in the Caves and Fastnesses, whether they were pursued and hunted by the Tyrants, and cut to Pieces. *Jamaica* was, before this, one of the best-peopled of all the *Antilles*; but such was the destructive Slaughter which the *Spaniards* made, that the very Name of an *Indian* was, in a few Years, rooted out, and none left to preserve the Memory of that once flourishing People. After they had thus secured themselves by the basest of Means, and found Leisure to retire from Bloodshed, they began to contrive how they might best settle, and pitched upon a fine Spot of Ground in the Western Part of the Island, where they built the City of *Melilla*; but its Situation was incommodious, and therefore they soon deserted it and settled Northward, where they built *Sevilla* and afterwards *Oristan*, which lay on the other Side of the Mountain, on the opposite Shore: Thus they shifted about, still dissatisfied, till at last they concluded on *St. Jago de la Vega*, to which Place they removed, and there made a fine City, of which *Columbus* was made Duke. The Sweetness of this Place, and the Fertility of the adjacent Fields, invited the *Spaniards* to reside in it: The *Savannahs*, which are now so barren and useless, were then the richest Spots in the Island, and yielded all manner of Necessaries; there they planted not only Provisions of every Kind, but likewise several useful Commodities, such as Indico, Cocoa, &c. the Remains of which Works are yet to be seen: But tho' they were thus charmingly situated, and had the Blessings of Nature poured out in the greatest Plenty, it served to no other Purpose, but to increase their natural Laziness; they indulged themselves in all kinds of debauched Effeminacy, and neglected to improve the Soil, or better it any manner of way: If they could provide a little Tobacco, Sugar and Chocolate, they looked upon themselves as sufficiently happy, and for every thing else, appeared quite

quite careless. Their Trade was in proportion to their Industry; few Vessels visited them, and these that did, found it turn but to a very sorry Account: All they could afford them, was a few Hides, some Pepper, and Cocoa-nuts. Thus these first Planters were unworthy of the Name of Men by their Cruelty, and of all Society by their Indolence; yet they could find the means unmercifully to butcher an incredible Number of simple undesigning Creatures; and for no other Reason, but to secure to themselves the quiet Possession of a Place, which they would not be at the Pains to cultivate. Indeed few desired to settle here; the greatest Part were such who could not avoid it; for those that could make any Figure in the World, went to *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, or the Continent, which were infinitely preferable; for there they not only had a fairer Opportunity of advancing their Fortunes, but of living at Ease: For in *Jamaica* the *Dukes de la Vega* were Proprietors and Governors of the Island, and exacted such high Imposts, that they were quite intolerable. It is certainly Fact, that these Successors of *Columbus* acted more like sovereign Tyrants than any thing else, and used the utmost Severity in collecting the Stints which they had imposed, which being mostly on *Portuguese*, they did it with a better Will; for they were the greatest Part of the first Settlers, and the *Spaniards* always bore them an irreconcilable Averfion.

Thus by such cruel and rapacious Methods, the Colony became rather on the decline; few chose to settle where they were sure to be oppressed; and those who had Effects of Value, removed to other Places, where they might enjoy the Fruits of their Toil and Industry. The Governors were sensible how much their Mismanagement tended to the Disadvantage of their Sovereign, and their own particular Hurt; for tho' with unrelenting Hands, they squeezed out, from an indolent Few,
a sorry

a sorry Revenue to support their own Luxury, yet they were sensible, that even that could not hold long; for besides the inactive Temper of these Men which made them neglect to improve the natural Advantages of the Place, they had a stronger Motive to encourage their Idleness and Sloth; they saw in Proportion as they acquired any thing valuable, it was mostly torn from them, and they were left to enjoy only what their unrighteous Rulers would please to allow them.

In this unhappy Situation did things remain, when the Governor strictly forbid any under the severest Penalties, to remove to happier Governments: This new Piece of Oppression occasioned a Representation of their Grievances to the Catholick King *Philip II*. But that designing Monarch having then other Views, (for this was about the Time that *Europe* was alarmed with the vast Preparations he made, which afterwards shewed themselves to be against *England*) had not Leisure to mind the Complaints of a petty Colony. This increased the Discontents, which before but too much prevailed; and the Planters had no Confidence in their Governor, or he in them. They lived therefore in a State of mutual Diffidence; he still oppressed them, and they still muttered Curses and Threats against him all the while, in vain calling for, or expecting Relief from their Superiors. By this means the Island became an easy Prey to the first Invader; for it is the Disadvantage of all tyrannical Governments, to be served from only a Principle of Fear and not of Love: Slaves may fight and even conquer; but they can never be supposed to arm with the same generous Ardour good Subjects do in Defence of their Liberties and Laws. And this was too evident in the present Case; for when Sir *Anthony Shirley*, in 1596, made that bold Attack upon *Jamaica*, he met with such a poor Resistance, that with little
or

or no Danger he plundered the Island, burnt *St. Jago*, and was, while he stay'd, absolute Master of the Whole. The oppressed Planters had little at Stake, and would have been fond of changing Masters, and becoming Subjects to any Prince that would have allowed them to live easy and free : However this was, it is certain, had Sir *Anthony* inclined to stay, the *English* Conquest of *Jamaica* need not have been dated from the Days of an Usurper, but from the Reign of a Princess whose happy Government made her Subjects serve with Pleasure, and her Name the Terror of *Spain*. But he had other Designs, and was obliged to act agreeably to his Orders ; he left the Island, and returned to cruize on the Continent of the *Spanish West-Indies*.

When the *English* were gone, the *Spaniards* began to peep out from their Holes, and return to their old Habitations, which they set about to repair ; and being now conscious of the bad Effects of their mutual Distrust, they came to a closer Confidence ; the Governor relaxed something of his former Severity, and the People appeared more easy and content : Several of them were admitted into the governing Part, at least nominally, as Members of his Council ; which pleased the *Spanish* Vanity, and made them think they were *Don* in Reality.

Thus they continued in a seeming good Correspondence, and undisturbed, till about the Year 1635 ; when Colonel *Jackson*, with a small Fleet, set out from the *Leeward Islands*, with a Design upon *Jamaica*. He had not many Companions, but they were brave, resolute and daring, and such as he knew would not mind the Danger, if they were sure of a rich Purchase. With this Company he landed, which did not exceed 500 Men, and immediately attacked 2000 *Spaniards*, at *Passage-Fort*. They received him with Courage enough, and for a short time sustained the Fury of the Onset.

set with abundance of Resolution ; but that brave few fought with such Spirit that the *Spaniards* began to retire, and at last fled. Several Hundreds were killed in the Engagement and Pursuit. The *English*, having gained this Advantage, did not delay a Moment to prosecute the good Consequences of the Victory : they marched to *St. Jago*, at about the Distance of Six Miles, briskly stormed the Town, and notwithstanding the Opposition they met with, soon entered it Sword in Hand, and pillaged it of every thing that was valuable : The Spoil was divided among the Soldiers, and the *Spaniards* were glad to agree for a certain Sum, to save the City from being burnt ; which they soon paid, and the brave Colonel retreated to his Ships without the least Disturbance, having in all this Expedition, lost no more than Forty Men.

But these Visits of the *English*, were only Pre-lages of one more solemn ; for a few Years after, it fell entirely into *English* Hands. The crafty *Mazarine*, having engaged *Cromwell* to join with *France* and turn his Arms against *Spain*, politickly contrived an Expedition to the *West-Indies*. The Usurper was too quick-sighted not to perceive whatever might be *Mazarine's* Designs ; the Project was not only good, but likely to succeed, and tend to the Advantage of the Nation : He therefore fitted out a fine Fleet, with a View of conquering *Hispaniola*, aboard of which were shipped Two thousand old Cavaliers, and as many of *Oliver's* Army ; besides which, vast Numbers voluntarily listed themselves, expecting to become rich by the Spoils of the *Spaniard*. Colonel *Venables* and Admiral *Penn* were jointly entrusted with the Command of the Fleet and Army, who had particular Orders to call at *Barbadoes* and the *Leeward Islands*, and there take in more Forces ; for it was not to be imagined but every Colony would cheerfully contribute to an Expedition

tion which they themselves would be such vast Gainers by : Nor was the Protector deceived in this Thought ; for no less than 1300 joined them at the *Leeward Islands*, and the Colony of *Barbadoes* supplied them with every thing which they wanted ; and the Bait was so tempting, that many Hundreds went along from that Island, expecting to reap a golden Harvest. Indeed never did the *American Seas* carry a finer Army : Success was thought to be sure, and nothing could have prevented it but the Mismanagement of some who were chief in the Expedition. They had a well-trained, well-provided, and complete Body of Men, commanded by Officers of Note, who had distinguished themselves by their Courage and Conduct in the Civil War ; such as Colonel *Doyly*, Colonel *Haynes*, Colonel *Butler*, Colonel *Raymund*, and a great many others, that were indisputably fit to lead an Army, had it been to fight for the Empire of the World.

On the 13th of *April* 1655, the Fleet made Land at *Hispaniola*, and discovered the Town of *St. Domingo* : A Council of War was held, and, pursuant to the Resolutions taken, 7000 Foot, a Troop of Horse, and Three Days Provision were landed : But the *Spaniards* were before apprised of the Design, and in good Condition to receive them. In a Word, after a short Engagement, *Venables* was obliged to retreat, our Forces were defeated, and ingloriously left to straggle, and be cut to Pieces : They got mostly to the Ships ; but the brave Colonel *Haynes*, and a great many private Men, fell in the Field of Battle.

This unhappy Defeat, by whatever Causes brought about, made the Commanders give up every Thought of Success ; they saw the *Spaniards* too well fortified, and in every Respect, in a Condition to oppose them ; therefore they forthwith resolved to make a Descent upon *Jamaica*, where they arrived the Third of *May*. The Generals

nerals landed their Men, and marched directly to *St. Jago*, the Capital of the Island, resolving to storm the Place; and to prevent the same Fate they had at *Hispaniola*, by the Cowardice of the Soldiers, Proclamation was made, that he who saw his Fellow run, should shoot him. Something of this kind was necessary; for the Soldiers were become quite heartless and dispirited by their late ill Success; and 'tis thought on good Grounds, that had the Chiefs in this Expedition known a Way how to excuse their Conduct to *Cromwell*, they would scarce have adventured to attack *Jamaica*. But in the Circumstances in which the Island then was, no Place could be more proper for an easy Conquest; the *Spaniards* had not the least Information of their Design, or so much as of the Defeat given the *English* at *Hispaniola*, and were in no Condition to oppose any Army of 10,000 Men; for so many they still were. In short, every Circumstance concurred to effect the Revolution which at this Time happened. The *English* marched boldly up to *St. Jago*, with Intent to storm it; but the cautious Governor seeing his own Weakness, and the Enemy's Strength, and that there was no possible Means of saving it, with a great deal of Art desired to capitulate upon Terms. The *English* granted his Request, and in the mean time the *Spaniards* spun out the Time of treating, all the while removing their best Effects and Treasures to the Woods and Places of Security; and the more to amuse the *English*, they furnished the Army with fresh Provisions and other Necessaries; and likewise made many agreeable Presents to Mrs. *Venables*, who had attended her Husband in this Expedition; which had such good Effects on the doating uxurious General, that he never suspected the double Design of the *Spanish* Governor, till it was too late; for after they had disposed of their Effects, and conveyed them to such Places where the *English* could never find them

them out they retired to the Mountains, and left the *English* a naked Town to possess, where they found fine Houses without Inhabitants or Goods ; which was a terrible Disappointment to an Army who expected Plunder, and had been balked already. This unexpected Misfortune ruffled the Spirits of the *English*, and they resolved on a cruel Revenge. Several Parties were detached to go in Quest of the *Spaniards* ; but tho' they had all the Inclination in the World, yet their Searches proved intirely vain ; for being unacquainted with the Country or the Passes, instead of proving useful by detecting their Places of Retreat, they returned sickly and dispirited ; and had it not been for a Piece of bad Policy amongst the *Spaniards* themselves, they might have been secure, till such time as the neighbouring Colonies could have sent to their Assistance, and forced the *English* to dislodge : For I am well assured from the Son of one that was concerned in the Conquest, who had the Relation from his Father, who died but a few Years ago, that the *English* began to be in prodigious Streights. The rich Treasures they had promised themselves, were now no more to be thought of ; their Courage was decayed, and they had hardly Hopes to feed on ; besides, their Number diminished daily, and the poor way of Living they were obliged to take up with, did not at all suit with the *English* Genius or Temper. In these pressing Circumstances it was deliberated, if it were not proper to desert a Place where so little was to be got, and such certain Perils run. They thought the *Spaniards*, without Doubt, would arm a sufficient Force from the nearest Settlements, transport them to *Jamaica*, and expel them with as much Ease as they had lately defeated them before *St. Domingo* ; and they were now in worse Circumstances to sustain the Attack, than they were

were before: They could not think the proud Governors who were elated with their former Success against them, would now tamely bear they should expel a *Spanish* Colony, or allow them quietly to possess a Place which once owned the Catholick King for its Sovereign; and if this should be the Case, they saw it impossible, with an Army weak, sickly and dispirited, to make good their Ground. On the other hand, they did not well know how to excuse their Conduct to the Protector at home. They were sensible they had been guilty of the grossest Mismanagement, and well knew the stern Temper of *Cromwell*; and that if ever they hoped to return, it behoved them to attempt something that might wipe off the foul Stain of their former bad Conduct and Disgrace. While their Minds were thus agitated, and the Army on the very Point of beginning a Mutiny, the unwary *Spaniards* discovered themselves by sending a Party for Intelligence, who happening to meet a few *English*, they engaged them, were beat, and traced to their Places of Retreat. This welcome Adventure inspired every one with fresh Hopes, and new Courage; they saw again the tempting Bait, and were once more possessed with the gay View of the Riches of the *Spaniards*, as a Reward for all the Toils they had undergone. This good Disposition of the private Men was encouraged by their Leaders; they thought it a signal Providence, and were resolved to improve this happy Turn of Affairs, which seemed to point out a Way, whereby they might be extricated out of all their Difficulties; they chearfully led them to the *Spaniards* Haunts, who as briskly received them. Several petty Encounters happened, which for the most part were to the Disadvantage of the *English*, because as soon as the *Spaniards* found themselves pressed, they retired by Degrees to these Fastnesses, with which they were well acquainted; and there being

being secure, could fire upon the *English*; and before they could climb to reach them, sculked to another Place of equal Security. This made them afraid they should find the Conquest tedious, if not impracticable; but having in this time discovered a great many valuable Effects, the Minds of the Soldiers were sooth'd and made easy. They had now likewise got plenty of fresh Provisions; for they had found the *Savannabs*, to which the *Spaniards* had driven their Cattle; and this was the greatest Relief they could possibly have wished in their present declining Circumstances: Whereupon they gave themselves up to indulge every Appetite and seem to forget their former Hardships. But while they were thus merry, they had the melancholly Account, that several Hundreds of their Men had been attack'd under Covert of the Night, and entirely cut off by the *Spaniards*. It seems this Misfortune happened by means of a *Spanish* Slave, who had deserted to the *English*, and was employed by them as a Guide. This Fellow was entertained by the unsuspecting Generals, as one on whom they might confide; they used him well, and promised him large Rewards; and indeed for a While they had no Room to call his Honesty in Question; for he had discovered several times the Designs of the Enemy; and being well acquainted with their Haunts, had oft stole among them in the Night-time, and discover'd their Resolves, which he again faithfully communicated to the *English*; but whether this was only a Bait to render him less suspected, that he might more easily compass this last Piece of Villainy, or whether he was tired with his new Masters, and found again a returning Love for the old, and was willing to make his Peace by doing some notable Service, he led the *English* into a Valley or Bottom, surrounded on every Side by Hills, and near to which he knew there was a strong Body of *Spaniards*; to whom having be-
fore

fore found Means to communicate his Design, they had taken care to secure the Place in such a manner, that it was impossible for almost any to escape the intended Destruction. Accordingly the *English*, being decoyed by their faithless Guide, came without the least Suspicion of Danger; and finding the Bottom convenient for their Purpose, resolved to lodge there till next Morning. They laid aside their Arms; some began to make merry, but most to sleep, having been all fatigued by a tedious March the Day before. In this careless manner did they repose, but were soon alarmed with sudden Shouts, and Volleys of Shot from all Sides; they were attack'd by superior Numbers, and had scarce time, in the Consternation they were in, to get to their Arms; and were cruelly butcher'd and cut to Pieces, no Quarter being given, and not a Life spared, except a very few, who being more resolute than the rest, bravely fought their Way; and tho' opposed by an armed Multitude, cut a Passage [to themselves, and escaped the Fury of the Carnage; among whom was the Gentleman's Father from whom I have this Relation.

This fatal Adventure gave a new Damp to their Spirits, and they saw the Necessity of using the greatest Precaution. After the *Spaniards* had quitted the Island, the Fellow who had betrayed this Party, fell again into the Hands of the *English*, who used him as his Treachery deserved. Thus on both Sides they were constrained to be on their Guard; but after a few Months, the luxurious *Spaniards* began to be tired of their hard Lodging and Fatigues, finding the Difference betwixt the Ease and Plenty of a Town, and the Difficulties of sculking on Mountains and Precipices; between the Sweets of Peace, and the Hardships of War; and therefore began in good earnest to think of quitting the Place: They saw most of their Settlements ruined, themselves abandon'd

to Dispair, no Help likely to arrive; and therefore, with one Consent, agreed to transport themselves in large Canoes to *Cuba*, at about the Distance of Eighteen Leagues; which they soon did, and left only a few *Mulattoes* and Negroes, on whose Fidelity they could most depend, with strict Charge to harraß the *English*, and by frequent Excursions to prevent their proceeding to settle; and at the same time promised they would soon return, with sufficient Force to expel the Invaders. These Promises, tho' they served their Purpose for some time, keeping these Wretches in their Duty, yet afterwards proved a great Disadvantage to them; for after their Return, with an insufficient Force to take the Field, and in a manner bare and helpless, these were the first that deserted to the *English*.

During the short Space of their Absence, little happened worth Notice; both Parties kept pretty quiet; but it seems the Viceroy of *Mexico* by no means relished their quitting the Island; and tho' he had been backward hitherto in his Supplies, now promised to assist them with a considerable Force. Deluded by these Hopes, the Fugitives again came to the Island, dispersing themselves in the North and North-east Parts, where they waited for the promised Succours: But after they had long looked for them, only 500 Men arrived, who seeing their destitute Condition, and how impracticable it seemed to dislodge the Conquerors, refused to act offensively, and retired to a Place called *St. Cherras*, where they fortified themselves, and waited for an Opportunity to quit a Place which they now perceived to be irrecoverably lost; for by this time the *English*, having had some Rest, had extended their Settlements, and possessed themselves of all the South and South-east Parts of the Island. A Regiment was settled at *Port Morant* to plant there, and others in several other Places thro'

thro' the Island, over whom Colonel *D'Oyley* was left Governor, with between Two and Three thousand Land-Forces, and about Twenty Men of War, commanded by Vice-Admiral *Goodson*; who, by his wise Management, so disposed Matters, that the new Settlers could not be attacked in any Place without receiving speedy Assistance from others.

Mean time *Penn* and *Venables* returned to *England*, where they arrived about the Middle of *September*, and were justly taken into Custody, and imprisoned, for their scandalous Mismanagements, which reflected so much Dishonour upon the *English* Nation as would have been irreparable, had not *Jamaica* made some Amends for the Disgrace, tho' Chance, more than Design, brought that into their Hands.

The wise *Cromwell* saw presently the Advantages which this new Acquisition would bring to the Nation (such Advantages, as, duly improved, might humble *Spain*, and make her tremble; but of that at another time) and therefore soon fitted out a new Squadron; and disliking Colonel *D'Oyley*, because a Cavalier, sent Major *Sedgwick* in his Room, and appointed him Governor of *Jamaica*; But before this, *D'Oyley*, who still acted a Part that was bold and magnanimous, had discovered the Retreats and Fortifications of the *Spaniards*, and marched to attack them at the Head of a good Body of Forces. The *Spaniards* on the other hand had received considerable Reinforcements, and fortified several Places for their Defence at *Rio Novo* in *St. Mary's*, the Remains of which are still extant; and being well furnished with Arms and Ammunition, conceived Hopes of retrieving their Losses, and possessing again what had been violently wrested from them: But the brave *D'Oyley* attacked them in such a brisk manner, that notwithstanding they were twice his Number, and well intrenched, yet they lost Ground,

and in a few Days were quite defeated. The Bravery of the *English* was very remarkable on this Occasion; they regained their former Honour, and now, that they had Estates to fight for, distinguished themselves in a manner worthy of *Oliver's* Soldiers. The *Spanish* Slaves who had deserted, did likewise good Service, many of them fighting with the greatest Courage; and being sure of an immediate and cruel Death, should they fall into the Hands of their old Masters, did all that was in their Power against them. Colonel *D'Oyley* thereupon rewarded some of those, and declared others free, particularly one, who was observed to have a more than ordinary Forwardness, and had with his own Hands, killed several *Spaniards*. It seems this Fellow had been Slave to one of the most considerable amongst them, and loved a young Negro to Distraction. He had several Children by her, and lived in an uninterrupted Course of Happiness, (if the State of Slaves can afford such) when the old Fox his Master barbarously tore the fond Creature from his Arms, and forced her to comply with his own villainous Lusts: The Husband called on every Power to avenge the Rape; but his Passion was ordered to be allay'd by the Severities of the Whip; he underwent the Punishment, but waited Revenge; and having found Opportunity from the late Disturbances, got an Interview with his once adored Wife; and soon decoyed her to some Distance, where he told her his Designs of Vengeance, and swore, he still loved her with a too sincere Passion, not to be sensible of what he had lost: But as their Happiness was now for ever past, and the former Days of Love and Purity could not return, he would not live to see her another's, when she could not be his; for, however innocent her Intention, he never could take an Adulteress to his Arms; and therefore, closely embracing her, plunged a Poniard to the Heart

Heart of the unhappy Creature: Thus, says he, I exert the Right of a Husband. And after a few Caresses, and seeing her breathe her last, he fled to the *English*, and in all their Engagements did them eminent Service, particularly in this last, where the Sight of his former Tyrant having inflamed his Desire of Revenge, he flew to the Place where he fought, and soon laid the vile Adulterer at his Feet. Many others did he also sacrifice to his Revenge, and behaved so gallantly, that Colonel *D'Oyley* took particular Notice of him, and without determining on the Justness of his Motives, rewarded him nobly, made him free, and gave him a small Piece of Ground, which ever after he lived upon in Quiet, but with a Thoughtfulness and Melancholy that he could never conquer. This brave Fellow lived to a very great Age, and died in the Year 1708. He had also a Son who did good Service against the *French* in 1695, and several times exposed his Life in the Pursuit of the rebellious Negroes.

The *Spaniards* being thus forced from their strong Entrenchments, the Colonel took care to demolish them in such a manner, that they could not be soon or easily rebuilt; and having several Days pursued and harassed them, taken many Prisoners, and all that they had which was valuable, returned full of Glory; while, to complete the Misfortunes of the Enemy, another large Body of them met with the same Fate at *Point-Pedro*, where they had intrenched themselves, and were not only defeated, but mostly cut to Pieces.

These repeated Successes of the *English* made the despairing *Spaniards* now resolve in good earnest, for ever to bid adieu to a Place which they saw irrecoverably lost; rather than wander in the Woods, and be exposed on one hand to the Fury of the *English*, and on the other to the Miseries of Want. The *English* had notice of their Design, but thought it Prudence to over-look it; and there-

fore allowed them quietly to embark with their Wives, Children, and what little Treasure was left them, and abandon *Jamaica* for ever to the *English*.

Thus the Bravery and good Conduct of Colonel *D'Oyley*, in a little time secured the Island, and made its former Lords, like so many Fugitives, desert it. But tho' this great End was fortunately effected, they had yet many Difficulties to struggle with; for the Negroes who had still retained their Faith to the *Spaniards*, finding themselves at Liberty, their Masters gone, and fearing the *English* would treat them after a barbarous manner, for the Mischiefs they had done them in the late Disputes, erected a kind of Government among themselves, and resolved to maintain their Ground to the last. They killed the Governor whom the *Spaniards* had appointed over them, and elected a new one from among themselves: And having agreed to some Regulations, which were necessary to keep them united, began to think on Ways whereby they might best provide Subsistence. Some, in the remote unsuspected Places, fell to planting Maiz, Cocoas, and other Necessaries; but the greatest Part went in Bodies, and hunted and robbed: This was fatal to them; for the active *D'Oyley* immediately gave Orders to pursue them; and having attacked them in loose straggling Parties, cut off a great many, among whom were the Chief that had opposed their submitting to the *English*: The rest, being struck with a Panick, and dispirited, began to despair of maintaining themselves any longer; and therefore sent, in the humblest manner, to Colonel *D'Oyley*, and offered to submit on Terms of Pardon. The Colonel amused them a little, the more to enhance the Value of granting their Desires, but soon accepted of the easy Conditions; they returned well satisfied, and acquainted their Fellows of the Success which they had: On which their Captain and a Company of
several

several Hundreds along with him, came and laid down their Arms, and were well received by the Colonel: But tho' the great Strength of the Negroes was thus broken, many still obstinately refused to submit; but these were likewise mostly destroyed, by employing the Slaves to hunt them down, who, upon the Promise of a Reward, cheerfully undertook that Service; and well knowing their Places of Retreat, seldom returned, without having done them some considerable Damage.

They chose this Method of testifying their Fidelity to their new Masters, which indeed was the most acceptable that could be found out; for the *English* were themselves, by this time, become perfectly weary of pursuing a Parcel of Robbers, and it was not without very imminent Danger when they attempted it: For besides that they were unacquainted with the Woods and Places of Retreat; in such a sultry Climate, the Fatigue of climbing the Precipices, and the very Load of their Arms, were almost intolerable to an *European* Constitution: The Slaves could not therefore do them a more agreeable Piece of Service; and they behaved so well, that Numbers of those that stood out were daily destroyed; others found an Opportunity of transporting themselves to *Cuba*; and the few that were still in Arms were now so inconsiderable, that they gave no Apprehension of any further Danger: But happy had it been for these Conquerors, and their Posterity, had they improved this favourable Opportunity to extirpate them quite: For tho' at that Time they might appear below Notice, yet it was easy to foresee, while any Numbers had a Place of Security, and maintained themselves, they would increase, and be joined by others, who on the least Disgust, or imagined Severity, might run off from their Masters: And this has proved to be true in the Event; for they have increased to such a Degree, as many times to make the Island tremble, and employ its utmost

Force against them. The Slaves who desert their Masters, still find there a sure Retreat, and their Numbers are now computed at several Thousands: The severest Laws have been enacted against them, the greatest Rewards offered to him that kills any of them, and the choicest Bodies of Men have been sent against them, who have mostly been unsuccessful, and returned with more Loss on their own Side, than to that of the Run-aways. Their Rebellion is moreover a constant Expence to the Government; for besides the Charge it is put to in building of Forts and Breast-works to prevent their Excursions, it has always several Parties in constant Pay in Pursuit of them; so that since they first began to be formidable, the Island has been at several Millions of Expences, and may be at as much more before they will be reduced, if they don't alter the Method of attacking them.

I have heard, in this Place, that it was much contrary to *D'Oyley's* Opinion, that they should be left undestroy'd; that he urged the strongest Reasons, and prophesied, in a manner, what would be the fatal Consequences of such a gross Oversight; but he was opposed by the Colonels *Raymond* and *Tyson*, who about this time began to be factious and popular, so that, brave as he was, he durst not oppose his Judgment to theirs, when they had the Soldiers almost intirely at Command; and they being already fatigued with a tedious War, were glad to be at Ease, and thought *D'Oyley's* Proposal was only a Piece of Ill-nature, and a Design to keep them still employed, without allowing them the Fruit of their Toil, which they had fought so well to obtain. These were popular Reasons, and the Colonel durst not oppose them: So he was obliged to content himself with letting them know how justly his Opinion was grounded, what might be the Consequences in time, and how unsecure they themselves were, when they had such Villains at hand to come like Thieves at unawares,

unawares, cut their Throats, and plunder their Plantations.

And now I have traced the History of this Island from its first Discovery to this Revolution, when it fell into the conquering Hands of the *English*; and tho' the common Abstracts we have of the Transactions of that Period be dark, yet they are all which we have to depend upon. I have however endeavoured to supply several Defects, by making Use of the Advantages I enjoy of making my Collections in the Island it self, where I have Access to converse with several whose Fathers were concerned in the Conquest, or settled in a very few Years after. In my next I shall continue my Relation; but before I conclude this, I must observe, That where-ever Subjects are oppressed, that Colony or State is nigh to Ruin. A Prince or Governor that deprives Men of their Liberties, is sure of being cursed and hated, and no Ties are capable to balance the natural Desire, which every Man has of being easy, free and secure in his Property. While this is kept sacred, the Subjects are equally concerned with the Prince, and will defend themselves against every Invader; but where they are trampled upon, Allegiance is in vain to be expected, and the first fair Opportunity, the general Bent of a Nation will discover it self, and favour a Revolution. This seems to be the Case, where-ever Revolutions have happened. And indeed 'tis scarce possible, that a foreign Enemy should conquer a free Country, where the Governors are beloved, and Property is secured to the Subjects; for rather than they will be enslaved, they will chuse to be destroy'd; and when they come to engage for all that is held valuable among Men, 'tis not every Army or Power will triumph over the generous Fire which warms their Breasts, and inspires them with true Courage. In what I have related above, you may easily see how mean and dastardly the *Spaniards* behaved: And what was it

owing to, but only this? That they fought with the Spirit of Slaves, and not of Free-men: They were oppressed; their Governor invaded their Property, deprived them of the sweet Returns of their industrious Toil; and the Consequence was, when the Enemy appeared they deserted his Defence, and had not Life to oppose the brisk Onsets of that brave Nation who knew the Blessings of Liberty. We may see, when their Governors relax'd of their Severity, they too behaved proportionably better; and that their Trade, their Wealth and Happiness increased, as they were considered with a more favourable Eye by their stern Superiors. In short, this brief Narrative is an Instance, and undeniable Proof, That *Liberty* and *Property* are the great Motives that induce Subjects to be faithful, or to fight for the Glory and Advantage of their Prince; and that an Encroachment on these is a sure Sign of a sickly State, a State that is on the Decline, and hastening to be undone.

Heavy Taxes may support standing Armies; but the generous Turn of a free People will, in spite of these, shew itself; and, when it does, that Prince may tremble, who used either the one or the other Means to enslave them. The deluded King *James* trusted to as fine an Army as ever encamped on the *British* Plains, and modelled too after his own Heart; yet how little Security was this, when Oppression roused the *English* Spirits to assert their Freedom!

I am SIR, Yours, &c.

LETTER IV.

SIR,

I Shall now prosecute my Design, and acquaint you with what has happened most remarkable since the Government fell into the Hands of the *English*, who having expelled the *Spaniards*, and reduced,

reduced, in a great measure, every Enemy that opposed their Designs, began to plant with great Success and Industry; for the Government at home took care to send them all necessary Supplies; and they daily increased to such a Degree, that in a short time they became a powerful Colony.

The advantageous Accounts given of the Island, which were perhaps industriously enlarged beyond their Truth, invited many who had suffered amidst the Fury of a Civil War, to retire from the Distractions at home, in Hopes of more Quiet abroad. This Humour was encouraged by the crafty *Cromwell*, who, by this means, rid his Hands of great Numbers, who were Enemies to his Usurpation; and, at the same time, he knew they could never become so powerful there, as to put him under any Apprehensions, especially as he took care to appoint a Governor firmly attached to his Interests, and in whom he could confide.

While every thing appeared thus promising, all had like to have been thrown into Confusion, by means of a dangerous Mutiny that happened among the Soldiers. The Colonels *Raymund* and *Tyson* were Two Gentlemen who adhered to the Protector, and had a mighty Influence on the Soldiers. *D'Oyley*, on the other hand, was an old brave Cavalier; and on that account, was not so agreeable to these Men, who had fought and triumphed with the ambitious *Oliver*: They ever looked upon him with a kind of Distaste; and tho' he had led them on with Glory and Success, yet they could not be reconciled to a Person whom they knew in his Heart, to be an Enemy to their beloved *Cromwell*. Therefore, on all Occasions, they shewed a strong Attachment to *Raymund* and *Tyson*, who finding the Disposition of these Veterans so favourable to their ambitious Designs, resolved to make Tools of them, in favour of their own Schemes, and to ruin *D'Oyley*. The good Reception which that brave Gentleman had lately given

given to several professed *Cavaliers*, who came over with a Design to settle, afforded these restless Spirits a new Topick to persuade the Soldiers, that *D'Oyley* had sinister Designs; that he encouraged so many of the Royal Party, with no other View, but, when he found himself strong enough, to expel them as *Republicans*, and declare for the King. This, joined with other Circumstances, soon inflamed their uneasy Minds; it was therefore agreed, that *D'Oyley* should be seized, and *Raymund* assume the Government. Matters were almost brought to a Crisis, when the whole Design came to Light. *D'Oyley* immediately used every proper Precaution for his own Security, and that of the Island; and being resolved to strike boldly at first, that the Mutineers might see they had one to deal with, of too daring a Spirit to bear Insults, seized *Raymund* and *Tyson* immediately, tried them by a Court-Martial, where they were condemned, and in Consequence of their Sentence, both shot to Death. *Raymund* expressed no Concern, but died with a haughty kind of Resolution. *Tyson* behaved in a manner more becoming, and seemed penitent for the Part he had acted.

This vigorous Step was sufficient to convince the Mutineers they had a Man to deal with whose Courage and Resolution was not easily shaken; and being now without a Head, they were in a Consternation, and knew not how to behave; for they were afraid of the just Resentment of their Superiors, and, at the same time, were at a Loss how to proceed to secure themselves. Open Force was now impracticable, and private Fraud not to be thought on; therefore they kept quiet, 'till *D'Oyley*, having disgraced some, and slightly punished others, made their Apprehensions cease, and every thing again became settled.

A little after this, Major *Sedgwick*, who, some time before, as I mentioned in my former, had been appointed Governor by *Cromwell*, arrived,

to the great Satisfaction of those of that Faction, and the Grief of almost every other on the Island, who were mighty well satisfied with *D'Oyley's* Management: And indeed the Situation they were in required a Governor of his bold and active Temper; else the Island had never been preserved from the Commotions, which jarring Factions always cause in a Country: But the good Major soon died. I hear of no particular Acts of Government done by him; and indeed his Life was too short to allow him an Opportunity of doing any thing considerable; the Heat of the Climate, and Alteration of the Air, and way of living, cut him off in a few Weeks after his Arrival.

D'Oyley again resumed the Government, with the Good-will of the far better Part of the Inhabitants, and behaved in such an agreeable, yet resolute manner, that he was not more beloved than feared: But tho' his good Qualifications rendered him every way fit to govern, and had been of such Advantage to the Settlers, yet *Oliver* still looked upon him as one unfit for his Purpose: he entertained a secret Disgust, and could by no means relish, that one of the Royal Party should govern an *English* Colony; and therefore the Protector, as soon as he received the News of *Sedgwick's* Death, sent to Colonel *Brayne*, in *Scotland*, who was a Creature of his own, and entirely devoted to his Interests, with express Orders to ship off a Thousand Men for *Port-Patrick*, and sail for *Jamaica*, where he was to take upon him the Government. That Body of Men was thought sufficient to ballance the Number of Royalists, who had transported themselves to *Jamaica*, especially, as they were to be led and directed by one whom the *Usurper* could entirely trust: But Colonel *Brayne* met the same Fate as *Sedgwick* had done before him; he got to the Place, and began to exercise his new Government with abundance of Rigour, when he too was snatched off on a sudden; and

and his Death once again restored *D'Oyley*, and every thing, to its first Situation.

This Gentleman still continued to rule with the greatest Good-will of the People, and Satisfaction even of those who before were his Enemies. *Oli-ver* died soon after this, and the *Rump* being restored, confirmed *D'Oyley*, in his Government, who kept it till after the Restoration; and never Governor since acted such a Part for the Good of the Island: It was by his Courage and Conduct the *Spaniards* were expelled, and the Negroes subdued; it was by his Prudence and Care that the Army was separated, and set to different Parts to plant, which preserved it from Mutinies; it was owing to his great Spirit, that *Raymund* and *Tyson* did not succeed in their bad Designs: By his Example the People were taught to be industrious; he exacted no Taxes, lived on what his Plantation produced, appeared, in private, like one of themselves; and yet, when Occasion required, exerted the Courage of the Soldier, the Prudence of the Statesman, and Steadiness of the Governor: He managed a Rabble, (for I can call them no better) brought them to Order, and made them afraid to disobey: He had a warm Side to the Royal Party, and encouraged the loyal Sufferers, who retired for Protection; yet he never treated any of the opposite Faction with the least Scorn, nor did they ever feel a Hardship beyond what every one else felt at the same Time. The Laws he governed them by were purely Military, and there was a Necessity for it: They were mostly military Men themselves, and nothing but the strict and hard Hand of Discipline could preserve them quiet: And besides, they were not yet out of Danger of another Attack from the *Spaniards*: 'Twas expected, they would have been obliged to fight for what they had; for the *Spaniards* threatened an Invasion; and had the Island been governed by one less steady and courageous than *D'Oyley*, no doubt they

they would have attempted it. All these made the Severity of Discipline absolutely requisite, to secure the Good of the Whole. In short, D'Oyley was one of the greatest and best Governors that ever was set over any Province; and no Colony could possibly be happier than *Jamaica* was, while ruled by such an able Hand; but after the Restoration, this brave Gentleman was recalled, and the Lord *Windfor* sent in his Place.

During his Time little happened worth relating. Civil Law began to be used, but in a very wretched manner; for the first Planters understood how to use their Arms better than to grace the Justice-chair. The Common Law was little known, and the Acts of Parliament less. However his Excellency took care to pick out the most knowing, and to establish Courts of Justice for the Discharging of private Right: Plain Good-sense was the Rule of their Decisions, and any Cause above their Reach was carried to the Governor, who arbitrarily decided the Affair. Tho' Things were in this indifferent Situation, yet these Times are extolled and preferred to the present, when they have every Plea considered according to the known Laws of *England*, or the particular Statutes of their Assemblies. There was a Necessity, in their State, to consider their own Circumstances; and, as they varied from the *English* Subjects, it behoved them to think of certain Regulations peculiar to their Situation: These, they tell you, were agreed on at private Cabals, where the most considerable Planters met, and in a friendly manner, over a Bowl, considered what was fit to be done. They did not then elect Representatives, or had an Assembly of their own chusing; and yet so happy were they in satisfying the Minds of the People, that their Regulations were never complained of. Indeed the Governor struck out what he thought improper, and perhaps added other Things, which sometimes were not agreeable to these Law-makers

makers Inclinations ; but upon the Whole, the Island was in a very flourishing Condition in the Lord *Windsor's* Government ; for by this time the *Buccaniers* had begun the Trade of Pyrating, and made Money plenty. What likewise contributed not a little to the Advantage of the Colony, was the Removal of a great many Gentlemen of Estates from other Islands, who settled here. They knew the Fertility of the Soil would make large Returns for their Pains ; and therefore many, but chiefly Sir *Thomas Moddiford*, who before this had acquired a vast Estate in *Barbadoes*, left that Place, and settled in *Jamaica*, where he set about Improvements, and shewed the Planters a fair Way of getting soon rich ; he taught them how to order the Sugar-cane, which before they were almost entirely ignorant of ; and, with the greatest Goodnature, gave them all the Insight he could, into the Method of planting, cleaning, grinding, boiling, and curing the Cane. He soon patented vast Tracts of Land, and in a short time reduced it into such good Order, that others, led by his Example, and Hope of Gain pursued the same Way, and by Degrees they came to vie with any other of their Neighbours, for the Quantity and Goodness of their Sugars, and at last to outstrip them all. The Revenues were at this Time but inconsiderable ; yet the Impost on Goods, and Grants of the Planters, made a very handsome Salary to the Governor, who lived well and easy ; but his Lordship was not long after recalled, to satisfy the Court of *Spain*, which complained of his encouraging Pyrates, after he had governed only about Two Years.

To him succeeded Sir *Thomas Moddiford*, who indeed brought the new Settlement to its greatest Perfection ; for by this Time there appeared a kind of Emulation among the Planters, and each strove who should improve his Lands to the best Advantage :

Advantage : And the Money being now plenty, by reason of the many rich Prizes which were daily carried in here, and taken from the *Spaniards*, they became wealthy, and had wherewithal to purchase Slaves, and other Necessaries, which they failed not to do ; and by this means, in a little time the Face of things became quite altered.

The Island not only became richer, but in Consequence of that, more powerful ; and soon acquir'd a sufficient Number of Inhabitants, which enabled it not only to defend, but even made it terrible to its Neighbours ; for in the old Records, we find the Estimate of Families and Inhabitants taken at this time, on account of a supposed Danger of a *Spanish* Invasion, to stand thus :

	Families.	Inhabitants.
Port-Royal Parish	500	3500
St. Katherine - - -	658	6270
St. John - - -	83	996
St. Andrew - - -	194	1552
St. David - - -	80	960
St. Thomas - - -	59	590
Clarendon - - -	144	1430
St. George	}	2000
St. Mary		
St. Anne		
St. James		
St. Elizabeth		
	1717	17298

These were all the Parishes into which the Island was then divided ; and by this Account it is surprizing to observe how suddenly this Colony became potent ; and yet more strange to consider, that from that time till now, they are not 20000 increased.

But

But the chief Reason of this Increase seems to be owing to the great Resort of the *Privateers*, who made *Jamaica* a kind of Home: This was no sooner known, but People of desperate Fortunes, and those who could not endure the inactive State in which *England* then was, transported themselves hither; some, invited by advantageous Prospects, settled, and others went a rambling on the Seas, in Search of what Prizes they could find; and indeed they had such surprising Success, as will perhaps scarce gain Belief in succeeding Ages. Had their Courage and Conduct been employ'd in supporting a better Cause, their Fame might have equalled the Glory of any, either of antient or modern *Heroes*; but the indelible Stain of *Piracy* sullies their great Actions, and makes them looked upon as Disturbers of Mankind, and Villains, who are only famous for Murder and Robbery.

However just this Sentiment may be, I can't help giving some of their surprising Attempts a Place in this Relation; and I'm sure, a great many useful Reflections will occur to your Mind, on reading an Abstract of their Lives; You will see how far natural Courage will lead a Man: how far the Love of Gain will excite a Spirit of such a Stamp; and what Havock Idleness and Slavery make in a Country where they prevail; for had the silly dastardly *Spaniards* known as well how to manage the Sword as to dally with a Mistress, neither *Morgan*, nor any of the rest, had gained such Advantages, or establish'd an immortal Glory at the Expence of their Character.

Jamaica, as I have said, was the common Resort of the *Pirates*; there they were sure of Protection, and whatever Necessaries they wanted; the Governors and Planters encouraged their Expeditions, and took care to supply their Vessels. In Return, their ill-got Riches were there squandered away. I can't tell if it was bad Policy (altho'
it

it was certainly bad Morality) to encourage these Desperadoes. In the Infancy of that Colony they were under perpetual Apprehensions of an Attack from Spain: They had private Disturbances among themselves, and several times they were likely to fall into the greatest Difficulties; besides, they had few whom they could depend upon, in case of an Invasion. The old Grudge betwixt the *Royalists* and *Cromwellians* remained, and after the Restoration it was more open than ever; for few of the first Conquerors were allowed Places of Trust or Profit; and this could not fail to exasperate those brave Spirits, who had ventured their Lives in the Conquest: They became discontented, and the Governors soon perceived they were not to be depended upon; and as they were the only Party that understood the Art of War, they could not miss of being formidable to a raw undisciplined Few, who had lately come over, and thro' a too partial Favour were encouraged. This seemed to make the Entertainment of the *Pyrates* necessary on a double Account; *First*, That their Power and Courage might balance the others; and *next*, That the rich Prizes they daily brought in, should be a Lure, and turn the Thoughts of these *Republicans* to the Methods of acquiring Riches. And indeed it proved a good Piece of Policy; for they no sooner found their Account in joining with the Privateers, than they forgot their old Murmurs, acquiesced in the Administration, and in a short time all Distinction of Parties was quite lost.

But to trouble you no further with these Conjectures, I shall proceed to give a short Account of some of the most noted of these Gentlemen of Fortune, whom Glory and Success still attended, and whose Memories are revered to this Day in a Place which shared so largely in the Riches they unjustly acquired.

The first who became famous in *Jamaica*, was *Bartholomew*, a *Portuguese*, a bold daring desperate

perate Fellow; He set out with a very few Hands from *Jamaica*, the whole Number not exceeding Thirty: His Vessel was only a poor leaky Scooner, (which is a small kind of Sloop they use for transporting Sugars from the distant Parts of the Island by Sea to *Port-Royal*) mounted with four Iron Guns: His Crew were all brave, and could be depended upon. They cruized for several Days on the Coasts, but finding no Prize, steered their Course to *Cape de Coriente* in *Cuba*. Here he met a fine Ship of Twenty Guns and Seventy Men, bound to the *Havannah* from *Maracaibo* and *Carthagena*: Tho' the Odds were so great, he resolved to attack her, and having in a few Words encouraged his Associates, began the Engagement; but notwithstanding their Bravery and Resolution, the Numbers of the Enemy prevailed, and they were obliged to retire with Loss; but having come up with her again, he renewed the Attack, and performed his part so well, that at last she was glad to render. This Ship proved an excellent Relief; they quitted their Scooner, and took to the Prize; but the contrary Winds hindering their Return to *Jamaica*, they directed their Course to *Cape St. Antony*, on the West-side of *Cuba*, where they resolved to furnish themselves with Water, for which at that time they had great Occasion.

But in their Way thither they unexpectedly fell in with Three *Guarda Costa's*, bound from *New-Spain* to the *Havannah*: They saw there was no Possibility of Escape, and after a smart Engagement were taken and made Prisoners.

This sudden Change of Fortune dashed their Hopes, and depressed their Spirits exceedingly; for the Prize they had taken, had on board, 120,000 Weight of Cocoa, and 70,000 Pieces of Eight; yet they still appeared rather sullen than melancholy, and rather angry than dejected. Mean time a Storm separated the Vessels, and after they had drove for several Days, came at last to

Campechie, where the Pyrates were well known. The Magistrates sent the proper Officers to secure them, and without much Ceremony or Form, condemned poor *Bartholomew* to be hanged. This Sentence was intended to be executed next Day; and, in the mean time, lest he should escape, they kept him aboard of the Ship. In this critical Juncture he provided Two large earthen Jars, and began to contrive his Liberty, which he effected; for in the Night-time, when all was quiet, he stabbed his Keeper, and having tied the empty Jars to his Body, jump'd in the Sea, and with some Difficulty got safely ashore. He immediately took Refuge in the Woods, and lived there several Days on Herbs, and such Fruits as that Wild could afford.

Strict Search was made after him, but to no Purpose; for he had so well concealed himself in the Hollow of a Tree, that they never imagined he was there: However, he saw the Danger he was in, and therefore resolved to get further off. The Place he designed for; was *Del Golfo Triste*, Forty Leagues distant from *Campechie*; but his Circumstances were at this time so miserable, that had he not been indued with uncommon Courage and Resolution, he durst not have attempted it; for he was almost famished for want of Meat, and reduced to such a low Pass, that nothing but his invincible daring Spirit could have supported him. He ventured abroad, but had not got far on his Journey, till he found a large River, which he was obliged to cross; He was a bad Swimmer, and had no Boat; in this Exigency he discovered an old Board, which the Waves had thrown on Shore; from it he struck out the Nails, and whetted some of them with incredible Pains, till they became sharp like a Knife; with these sorry Instruments he cut a great many small Boughs off the Trees, and having tied them very neatly together, ventured in this kind of Vessel to cross the River, which

which he effected; and after a few Days Travel reached *Golfo Triste*, where he was welcomed by a Crew of Pyrates, that were there in that Bay: He soon made them acquainted with his Misfortunes, and begged their Assistance; he told them, if they would only allow him a Boat, and twenty Men, he would venture to *Campechie*; and seek to be revenged on the *Spaniards*. They willingly granted his Demand, and having got all Necessaries provided, he, with Twenty more, well armed and stout, set Sail, and in a short time made *Campechie*: Finding every thing there quiet, and that they were under no Apprehension of Danger, he resolved to attack the very Ship which had brought him thither a Prisoner: This he soon did, and easily mastered the Crew, (for they were received aboard, without the least Suspicion of their Design) and immediately they seized the Master; the Sailors were unprovided for an Engagement, and easily yielded; the Anchor was weighed directly, and they put out to Sea for fear of being pursued by other Vessels in the Bay.

This happy Success gave the Pirate a great deal of Pleasure, while he saw himself Master of such a fine Vessel, on Board of which he had lately been confined, and condemned to be hanged; besides, she was a vastly rich Prize, having not only aboard the Effects which before were taken from the Pyrates, but a great deal of rich Merchandize besides. And now he proposed to make a good deal at *Jamaica*. But his Expectations were soon dashed, and all his gay Conceits vanished; for a terrible Storm drove the Ship on the Banks called *Jardines*, near the Isle of *Pinos*, on the South-side of *Cuba*, where she split; the Crew saved themselves with the utmost Difficulty, and at last made *Jamaica*, where he soon recruited, and went to seek his Fortunes anew. But his Fame being obscured by others, who at this time followed the same desperate Trade, we hear no more of his Life or Actions.

Bra-

Brasiliano is the next that was famous here: He was by Birth a *Dutchman*, and being driven from *Brasil*, when the *Portuguese* retook that Country from the *Dutch West-India Company*, he, and a great many others, went in Search of better Fortune, and having got to *Jamaica* saw no Way so likely to do it, as by turning *Pirates*. *Brasiliano* soon distinguished himself; he feared nothing, avoided no Danger, and always went upon the most difficult Enterprizes; he still acquitted himself with Honour, and by this means was looked upon as one that was destined to be their Leader. He soon made a Party, and having destroyed a good Number to leave their Captain, he was unanimously chosen in his Place.

They were not long in providing a small Vessel, in which they embarked to seek for new Adventures. In a few Days they came up with a Ship from *New-Spain*, which after small Resistance, they took. She proved an excellent Prize, having a vast Quantity of Plate and Silver aboard, which they brought to *Jamaica*, and soon squandered away in Debauchery.

Their next Voyage proved very unlucky; for a Storm split their Vessel to Pieces, and the *Pirates* with a great deal of Difficulty, got to Land in a Canoe, near *Campechie*: They resolved to direct their Course to *Golfo Triste*, it being a Place where they could soonest expect Relief, on account of its being a Haunt of the *Pirates*, who use it when they have Occasion for fresh Water. They had little Provisions, but they still kept on their Voyage with a Courage and Resolution peculiar to themselves; but in a little time were alarmed with the Sight of a Troop of *Spaniards*, who were marching that way in Pursuit of them. The *Pirates* were only Thirty in all, and the *Spaniards* a Hundred well armed and mounted. *Brasiliano*, no Ways discouraged at the Odds, animated his brave Companions to the Charge; and when

when the *Spaniards* came within Shot, they took their Aim so well that every one killed his Man: The Fight continued for a great While with equal Fury on both Sides, but at last the *Spaniards* were put to the Flight, having lost more than half their Number; on the *Pirates* Side only Two were killed and Ten wounded.

After this dangerous Engagement they seized on the Horses which were scattered about, and made all the Dispatch they could to the Place they had first intended: But as they prosecuted their Journey, they happened to spy a Boat from *Campeschie*, well manned, that rode at Anchor, protecting a small Number of Canoes, that were employed in landing Wood. Hereupon a Detachment was immediately sent to secure her for their Use, which they effected with very little Labour. But altho' they had now a Means of transporting themselves from this hostile Climate, they yet wanted Provisions to sustain themselves during the Voyage. To remedy this, they fell to killing their Horses; and having found abundance of Salt in their new Vessels, cured it for Use. On this poor Diet they fed, till they could provide themselves better, which was not long; for they happened in a few Days, to come up with another Ship bound for *Marracaibo*, from *New-Spain*; and having boldly attacked her, forced the Crew to yield, tho' they were more than double their Number, and in every Respect well armed; but nothing could withstand the Fury of these Desperadoes; they took the Ship and committed most horrid Cruelties on the poor *Spaniards*, torturing them after such a manner as is shocking to relate. Here they found a considerable Quantity of Money, and other valuable Effects, all which were carried to *Jamaica*, and according to Custom, waisted in a few Days in Taverns, and Places of Debauchery: Wine and Women drained their Wealth to such a Degree, that in a little time
some

some of them became reduced to Beggary. They have been known to spend 2 or 3000 Pieces of Eight in one Night ; and one of them gave a Strumpet 500 to see her naked. They used to buy a Pipe of Wine, place it in the Street, and obliged every one that passed to drink ; at other times they would scatter it about them in large Quantities, thinking it excellent Diversion to wet the Ladies Clothes as they went along, and force them to run from the Showers of Wine.

Thus they spent their ill-got Goods in all kind of Lewdness, till Poverty beginning to threaten them, they were obliged to make another Voyage; but in it they had the Misfortune to be surprized and taken, as they were viewing the Fort at *Campochie* in their Boat. The Governor was glad of having got them into his Hands, and resolved to hang them every Man : They were cast into a Dungeon till the Day of their Execution ; but at this critical time *Brasiliano* wrote a Letter as from other Pyrates, directed to the Governor, wherein he told him, that if he proceeded to any Severities with those now in his Power, they would be revenged, and never give Quarter to any of the *Spanish* Nation, who should thereafter fall into their Hands.

This Letter had the desired Effect ; for the Governor knew they were a desperate Set of Villains, that would stick at nothing to accomplish a bloody Revenge ; and as that Place had been often visited by the Pyrates, they had not forgot either their Courage or Cruelty, and did not care to expose themselves to their Fury anew : Therefore, by Advice of his Council, he thought it most prudent to forbear putting them to Death ; but lest they might be tempted to revenge the bad Usage they had already met with, he took care to send every one of them in the Galleons to *Old Spain*.

E

But

But an *European* Climate did not agree with these Gentlemens Constitution ; they soon got rid of their new Masters, and came all again to *Jamaica* with the very first Opportunity, where they were kindly received, and soon furnished with a Vessel to renew their Depredations, which they effectually did ; for they committed horrid Barbarities on the *Spanish* Coasts. *Brasiliano* had an inveterate Spite to that Nation, and expressed it in a very terrible manner ; for some of them he roasted alive on wooden Spits ; others he tortured with lighted Matches put under their Arm-pits ; and to be a *Spaniard*, was a Crime sufficient to incur Death ; nay, it was happy for them, if they met it without first feeling the Effects of his brutal Rage, by a long Course of Torments. Thus he continued for many Years, still successful in his Attempts, and highly regarded by his Fellow-villains, over whom he had such Command, that in all his Adventures there never was one Mutineer, which is a rare thing aboard of a Pyrate-ship.

The *Spaniards* were so miserably harassed, that they resolved to diminish the Number of their trading Vessels ; by this means they persuaded themselves the Pyrates would leave off their Robberies, when they found they could not get good Prizes : But this Method proved ineffectual ; for they were resolved to have Money from them at any Rate ; and finding they could not meet any Ships of Value, resolved to land and plunder the Country : This they often did very successfully. *Lewis Scot* was the first who began this bold Method of Robbing ; he sacked and pillaged *Campeche* ; and, after he had exacted an exorbitant Sum for the Ransom of the Town, left it. At the same time *Mansvelt* took the Island of *St. Katherine's*, which he plundered of every thing that was valuable, and extorted large Sums from the Prisoners by Way of Ransom.

But

But he who at this time committed the greatest Depredations, was one *John Davis*, born in *Jamaica*: He made an Attempt on *Nicaragua* with Eighty Men (having taken care to conceal his Ship in a Creek, and left Ten of the Crew to look after her.) With this small handful he sailed up the River in Canoes, in the Night-time, lest their black Designs should be discovered; and arriving at the City the Third Night after their setting out, the Centry who kept the Post of the River, thought they were Fishermen, and allowed them to land without a Challenge; but they were no sooner ashore, than they soon dispatched him, and then boldly entered the Town, having a runaway *Indian* for their Guide; and knocked at the Doors of some of the chief Inhabitants, who suspecting no Danger, ordered them to be let in. These Villains no sooner got Entrance, than they began to exercise their wonted Cruelties: Some they immediately murdered, others they bound and gagged; and thus having disposed of the Proprietors, they pillaged their Houses; nor did they spare the very Churches, plundering them of every thing of Value; and having amassed a great Quantity of Goods and Riches, began to think it time to retire; for some Inhabitants having found means to escape, gave the Alarm, and the Citizens were run to Arms, and assembled in the Market-place, with a Resolution to repel these bold Invaders: But the Pyrates, having got what they desired, lost no Time, retreated to their Canoes, and got down to their Ship in Triumph, carrying with them a great deal of Riches, and a good many Prisoners.

Having been thus successful, they set Sail, but first obliged their wretched Captives to prevail on the neighbouring Plantations to furnish them with as much good Provision as would carry them to *Jamaica*. They had scarce sailed and disposed of it aboard, when they had Intelligence of a

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strong Body of *Spaniards*, that were advancing with a Design to attack them: This made them use the quickest Dispatch to get to Sea: They were no sooner ready to set Sail, than Five Hundred *Spaniards*, well armed, appeared on the Sea-side: they immediately let fly several Broad-sides at them, which put the Party into no small Confusion while they sailed off with the Booty, in their very Sight. They got by this Expedition no less than 50,000 Pieces of Eight, with which they safely reached *Jamaica*, and spent it after their common Custom.

Davis grew famous. This Exploit gained him universal Reputation for Courage. Nothing was talked of in *Jamaica*, but his Valour and Conduct; the Planters were in Love with his Success, and he wanted nothing that was requisite to enable him to undertake another Voyage. He soon got a great many Men together. who voluntarily offered themselves: He received them well; and having, by means of his Friends in *Jamaica*, provided seven small Vessels, he manned them and set out to Sea. He was chosen Admiral of this Fleet, and they all took their Directions from him. A great While passed, before any thing considerable happened in his Way; at length he determined to attack *St. Augustin* in *Florida*, which is guarded by a Castle with Two hundred Men: He soon carried the Place, and having entered Sword in Hand committed horrid Murders; then, having pillaged the Town, retired without the Loss of one Man.

I have now brought this History to a Time when the Colony was in its greatest Glory, when Money was so plenty, that *Port-Royal* was reckoned the richest Spot of Ground in the World.

I shall here stop, and give you time to reflect on this surprizing Change. An Island lately conquered, unhealthful and mutinous, appearing in a few

few Years powerful and rich. In my next I shall give you an Account of the famous *Morgan*, one whose Name is, to this Day, a Terror to *Spain*, and whose Fame will never die in *Jamaica*, as long as the World lasts.

I am, S I R, Yours, &c.

LETTER V.

S I R,

I AM now to present you with an Abstract of a Life, that in all its Parts, is extraordinary and surprizing; a Man born of mean and obscure Parents, without Learning or any thing else but his Courage to support him, advanced to the Dignity of a Lieutenant-Governor, over one of the finest Colonies in *America*, performing Actions almost incredible; with a desperate Few, storming Towns and defeating Thousands, carrying the Terror of his Name to the remotest Corners of the New World, and making Viceroy's tremble at the Head of Armies!

Such a one was Sir *Henry Morgan*, born in the Principality of *Wales*. His Father was a Farmer, of pretty good Repute, who designed his Son for the same way of Life; but his Inclinations were turned another Way; and finding his Father positive in his Resolution, bid him adieu, and rambled to *Bristol*, where he bound himself a Servant for Four Years, and was transported to *Barbadoes*; there was sold, and served his Master with a great deal of Fidelity. But his Term of Years was no sooner expired, than he shipped himself off for *Jamaica*, resolving to join the Pyrates, and push for a Fortune along with them. He found Entertainment immediately on his Arrival, on Board a Sloop, which was to cruize upon the

Spanish Coasts ; and behaved with such Resolution and Courage, that he soon became famous. Having made several prosperous Voyages, he took care to secure his Share of the Booty in good Hands. He saw the Excess and Debauchery of his Fellows; and that they became soon reduced to the lowest Shifts, by their lavish Expences on their Arrival : But he, having vast Designs in View, lived moderate, and got soon together as much Money as purchased a Vessel for himself; and, having a fine Crew, put to Sea. His Success was at first but small, but afterwards he took several Prizes, which he carried to *Jamaica*, and disposed of. He made afterwards many successful Expeditions, and his Name grew so famous, that *Manf-welt*, an old Pyrate having equipped a considerable Fleet, with a Design upon the *Spaniards*, pitched on *Morgan* to be his Vice Admiral : They sailed from *Jamaica* with Fifteen Ships and Five hundred Men, and arrived at the Isle of *St. Katherine's*, situate near the Continent of *Costa Rica*. Here they landed, and made such a furious Attack, that they obliged the Castle and Garison to surrender : They became intire Masters of the Island and resolving to preserve it for their own proper Use, placed an Hundred of their Men in one of the Forts, entirely demolishing all the rest.

There is a small Island adjoining to *St. Katherine's*, which is so near, that a Bridge may reach betwixt them ; this they likewise took, and having pillaged the Island of every thing of Value, retired to their Ships, leaving proper Orders with the Garison they had placed in the Castle. They carried off a great many *Spanish* Prisoners ; and judging it imprudent to allow them to continue in the Island for fear of their creating a Disturbance, they steered for *Puerto Velo*, where the *Spanish* Prisoners were set ashore ; and thence began to cruize on the Coasts of *Costa Rica*, designing to proceed

proceed a great deal further in pursuit of new Conquests. But the Governor of *Panama* having Intelligence of their Arrival and Designs, prepared to give them a very warm Reception ; and having got together a great Body of Men, he resolved to march, and drive them to their Ships : But they did not think it proper to wait his Coming ; for knowing they were discovered, and that they had not a sufficient Force to fight him, they retired to their Ships, and put to Sea.

They made directly for *St. Katharine's*, where they found their Garison in Health, and every thing in an extraordinary good Situation. *Le Sieur Simon*, a *Frenchman*, whom they had left to command, had performed his Part to their intire Satisfaction. *Mansvelt* would fain have kept the Island, it being so convenient for his Designs, and for that Reason, applied to the Governor of *Jamaica* for Assistance ; but his Excellency well knew he durst not countenance them in such an open manner : Neither would it have been of Advantage to *Jamaica* ; for the Pyrates had infallibly made *St. Katharine's* their Place of Rendezvous ; and by this means that Stream of Riches, which flowed so plentifully by their means in *Jamaica*, had been diverted into another Chanel.

Mansvelt applied next to the Governor of *Tortuga*, but with like Success ; soon after, he ended his wicked Life, and the Island of *St. Katharine's* was retaken by the *Spaniards*. *Morgan* did all he could to prevent its falling into their Hands, but to no Purpose ; yet notwithstanding he retained his Courage and Spirit, and began to equip another Fleet, in order to carry on his Designs.

In less than Two Months he saw himself at the Head of Twelve stout Ships and 700 fighting Men ; and, now judging himself sufficiently strong to attempt something of Consequence, he
was

was at first for attacking the *Hawannah*; but, on cooler Thoughts, seeing the Danger of such an Enterprize, he resolved to attempt some other Place.

After a great many Opinions were heard, they at last agreed to storm *Puerto del Principe*, which is a fine inland Town in the Island of *Cuba*. Here the Pyrates hoped for a rich Booty, and having directed their Course to that Part of the Coast which lies nearest it, resolved to land in *El Puerto del Santa Maria Bay*. But their Designs had like to have come to nothing, and the Expedition to have proved fatal to them all; for a *Spaniard*, whom they detained a Prisoner, having found means to escape, ran directly to the Town, and gave the Alarm. The Governor immediately put the Place in a Posture of Defence, and did all that Prudence or Courage could inspire. He raised and armed the People of the City, both Freemen and Slaves; ordered vast Quantities of Trees to be cut down, and laid cross the Roads, to obstruct their Passage; placed several Ambuscades in convenient Places; seized an advantageous Pass, thro' which the Pyrates were expected to march; and, with the rest of his Forces, encamped on a fine Plain, from whence they could see the Pyrates advancing a great way off.

Morgan with his Party, was surpris'd to find the Avenues rendred impassable; they knew they had been discovered, but it was now too late to think of a Retreat: They animated each other, and resolved to face all the Difficulties in their way; and turning out of the common Road, they travelled thro' the Woods, and so escaped the Ambuscades; and with a great deal of Difficulty reached the Plain, where the *Spaniards* lay incamped.

The Governor immediately charged them, and a desperate Fight began. The *Spaniards* behaved very well; but there was no standing against the
Fury.

Fury of the Pyrates, who fought like so many Madmen; and understanding exactly how to handle their Weapons, killed a vast Number of *Spaniards*. The Engagement lasted Four Hours. The Governor, and a great many Gentlemen of Note, were killed on the Field of Battle. At last the Rout began, the *Spaniards* fled, and were briskly pursued by the victorious Pyrates. The People in the Town made a very good Defence, but were forced to surrender. The Town was taken, and soon became a Prey to the rapacious Conquerors: They drove the Men, Women and Children, promiscuously into the Churches, where they shut them in, and fell to Feasting and Riot, while they allowed their Prisoners nothing to support Nature. They continued amassing up all the Wealth they could get, and dispatched Parties into the Country, which returned with great Booty. At last, they began to think of removing; but first used the inhuman Methods to persuade the poor half-starved *Spaniards* to discover their Money, tormenting them to that Degree, that many died, besides a vast Multitude, who perished of mere Famine.

Provisions beginning to grow scarce, the Pyrates resolved to retreat; but having demanded a Ransom for the Town, a few of the Prisoners were set at Liberty, to endeavour to procure the Sum. At this time a Negro was caught with Letters from the Governor of *St. Jago*, to some of the principal Inhabitants of the Town; wherein he acquainted them with his Intention of coming very speedily to their Relief, and desiring them not to enter into any Agreement with the Pyrates; but put off their Demands by repeated Excuses, till he should get to their Assistance. This unseasonable Piece of News put the Pyrates in a kind of Terror; but concealing their Intelligence from the Townsmen, when their Deputies returned, and told them

them their Endeavours had been ineffectual ; for they could not find Means to raise the Money ; *Morgan* seemed good-natured all of a sudden, and told them, he would depart, if they would only provide five hundred Beeves, and salt them, for victualling his Ships. This they readily consented, and accordingly performed in a few Days. He then set sail; but an unhappy Division falling out among his Crew, on account of a *Frenchman's* being basely stabb'd by one of the *English* Sailors, the *French* parted from *Morgan*, notwithstanding he used the utmost Art to keep them with him. The Criminal he put in Chains, and carried to *Jamaica*; where he caused him to be hanged. The Prize they took at *Puerto del Principe*, did not amount to more than Fifty thousand Pieces of Eight, which, when it came to be divided, was scarce sufficient to defray their Debts in *Jamaica*; therefore they instantly resolved to go in quest of some new Adventure ; and being encouraged by Captain *Morgan*, they resolved to be led by him, without inquiring into his Designs, having an intire Reliance upon his good Conduct, Courage, and Abilities.

Having his Crew so much at Command, he set Sail with Four hundred and Fifty Men in Nine small Ships, and made towards *Costa Rica* ; there he imparted his Design of attacking *Puerto Velo* to his whole Company. Several objected against the Attempt, because they had not a sufficient Number to think of Success against so strong a City. But *Morgan* replied, “ If our Numbers
“ are small, our Hearts are great ; and the few-
“ er we are, the better Shares we shall have in the
“ Spoil.”

The Hope of Riches made them quit their Fears, and they shewed an Ambition of daring the Danger. Indeed, if we consider the Boldness of this Attempt, it will scarce find a Parallel in History.

Puerto

Puerto Velo is about Fourteen Leagues from the *Gulf of Darien*, and Eight Westwards of *Nombre de Dios*, and is one of the strongest Places in the *West-Indies*: It is guarded by three Castles, which are almost impregnable, two of them situated at the Entry of the Port, so that no Ship or Boat can pass without Permission: These are not only well-garrisoned, but the Town consists, besides, of near five hundred Families. The Merchants have here their chief Ware-houses, and 'tis a Place of extraordinary Trade.

Morgan was perfectly well acquainted with all the Avenues to the City. 'Twas Night when he came to *Puerto de Naos*, about Ten Leagues West of *Puerto Velo*: They sailed up the River from thence to *Puerto Pontin*, where they came to an Anchor. They took Boats, and about Midnight came to *Estera longa le Mos*, where they all went ashore, and marched by Land to the first Posts of the City. An *Englishman*, who had been a Prisoner in this Place, served them for a Guide.

This Fellow had abundance of Courage, and was fit for the greatest Attempts: Besides, he was pushed on with Desires of Revenge for the bad Usage he had met with from the *Spaniards*, had inflamed his Mind to such a Degree, that he lifted a Pyrate, with no other View than to be revenged; and this being the Place where he was formerly confined, he exerted himself on that Account with the greatest Courage, as well as Art and Dexterity.

There were only Three more, daring like himself, who offered themselves to go and secure the Centry. They went on with the greatest Caution; for, on their artful Management of this first Attempt, the whole Success of their Expedition depended: When they were got near enough, they at once laid hold of the Centinel, and that so suddenly, that he had not Time, or Presence of Mind to give the Alarm, by firing his Musket;

Musket; and they provided against any other Noise by gagging him.

Having thus successfully finished what they were commanded, they returned to *Morgan* with their Prisoner. The poor Wretch, being terrified with their Threats, freely discovered all he knew, told them in what Situation the Castle and Garrison were, and every Thing else which they demanded. On the welcome Intelligence he gave them, they instantly marched, carrying the captive *Spaniard* along; and, having got close to the Castle, intirely surrounded it; and by this means effectually prevented any from going in, or coming out.

The *Spaniard*, whom they had taken, was commanded to bid them surrender, and if they refused, to threaten the utmost Severity; but he had no other Return, but from the Mouth of their Cannon. This gave the Alarm to the City; and the Pyrates, afraid lest a superior Force from that Quarter should attack them, made a furious Assault and carried the Place. They were no sooner in Possession, but they drove the miserable *Spaniards* into one Place, and presently set Fire to the Magazine of Powder, which in an Instant destroyed them.

They next marched to the City, which they entered without any Difficulty; for the Inhabitants were like so many distracted Persons, running about, and not knowing which Hand to turn to. The Governor used his utmost to rally, and reduce them to Order; but in vain: He therefore, with some of the chief Inhabitants, returned to another Castle, which yet was unassaulted by the Pyrates; thither a great many resorted and carried their Riches and best Goods. The successful Pyrates began a miserable Havock; and tho' the Governor fired incessantly upon them from the Castle, yet it had no other Effect, but to spur them

on to do their Business with the greater Dispatch. They risled not only the Houses, but the Churches. In the mean time, they found that they had lost a great many of their Companions ; and, being flushed with Desires of Revenge, unanimously resolved to attack the Castle, which had done them such Mischief, and where they knew there was a vast Quantity of Riches lodged. They began the Assault with surprizing Intrepidity, and did a great deal of Hurt to the Garison ; for they took their Aim so well, that they never missed to shoot the *Spaniards*, whenever they came to load the Guns. Amidst the Horror of this Assault, both Parties behaved with equal Courage : and the Pyrates, observing the stout Resistance they met with, prepared Fire-balls, with which they designed to fire the Gates : But having approached to the Walls, the Garison threw down huge Stones and Flasks of Powder, which killed a great many, and obliged the rest to retire. In this Disorder *Morgan* scarce knew how to behave ; he saw it almost impracticable to carry the Place, and yet his high Spirit would not allow him to give over the Assault. But he had certainly been obliged to desist, if at that very Instant he had not perceived *English* Colours set upon the Walls of the other Castle, which another Body of the Pyrates had successfully stormed. This Sight encouraged his fainting Troops to renew the Attack ; and having prepared large scaling Ladders, commanded the religious Persons, whom he had taken from the Monasteries, to fix them to the Walls : They were obliged to obey ; and having approached the Castle, conjured the steady Governor by all the Saints to deliver up the Place ; but he bravely refused, and let *Morgan* know his Policy should have no Effect ; for the crafty Pyrate had employed the Priests and Nuns, believing that the Reverence, which the *Spaniards* bore them, would have made them desist from firing.

The Governor did all that could be expected from a brave Man ; he fired with the utmost Fury, and killed great Numbers of the Religious : But notwithstanding his gallant Defence, the Ladders were got fixed, and the Pyrates mounted with incredible Resolution, carrying Fire-balls and Pitchers full of Powder in their Hands, which they threw among the *Spaniards*, who perceiving their Enemies entered, (after a very sharp Engagement) threw down their Arms, and begged for Quarter ; only the Governor stood out with amazing Courage, killed many of the Pyrates with his own Hands, and bravely performed the Part of a gallant Soldier. He refused Quarter, and was killed. An heroic Instance of distinguished Worth !

The Place being now in their Power, they fell to their usual Debaucheries, committed the most horrid Rapes and Murders, tortured the Prisoners, and barbarously derided them in their Misery ; till at last they began to think of retreating, which they offered to their Captives, if they would pay 100,000 Pieces of Eight for their Ransom. Two of that miserable Number were deputed from the rest to go to *Panama*, to raise the Sum ; but the President, having raised a large Body of Men, was on his March to encounter the Pyrates. The Deputies waited the Event, which proved fatal to the President's Party, for a Hundred Pyrates beat and dispersed them, having killed an incredible Number in the time of the Engagement. This Disaster convinced these Gentlemen, who had been sent to procure the Ransom, that there was a Necessity of complying with *Morgan's* Demands ; therefore, having raised the Sum, they returned, and gave it into his Hands.

Having victualled his Ships, he set Sail, but first dismounted the great Guns on the Castles, and levelled several Redoubts which had been raised by the *Spaniards*. He soon got to *Jamaica*, and found his Purchase amount to 250,000 Pieces of Eight,

Eight, besides all other Merchandizes. Thus successfully ended one of the boldest Attempts that perhaps was ever made: Four hundred Men to attack a strong and populous City, guarded by Three Castles well garison'd, and abounding with all manner of military Stores, while the Pyrates had nothing but Sword and Pistol to fight with! What will not such Resolution surmount?

They were very welcome Guests at *Jamaica*; the Planters, and Men in Power, caressed *Morgan*, while the inferior Sort contrived every kind of Bait to drain his Associates of their Money. They were very liberal, and in a short time came clamouring to their Captain to put to Sea; for they were reduced to a starving Condition. Immediately he set about making Preparations for a new Expedition; and his Fame being now increased to a high Pitch, he saw himself in a short time at the Head of a Thousand brave resolute Fellows. The Governor of *Jamaica* gave him a fine new Vessel, which carried Thirty two Guns; but she unfortunately was blown up, with several Hundreds aboard, who all miserably perished. This Misfortune no ways discouraged the rest; while *Morgan* was safe, they thought Success sure, and accordingly embarked with a great deal of Chearfulness. After cruizing some time on the Coast, he formed a Resolution of sacking *Maracaibo*, being excited thereto by the Advice of a French Sailor, who had been before with *Lollois* at the Pillage of that Place. It was not long before they arrived at the Sea of *Maracaibo*, and having entered the Lake, soon found themselves in very imminent Danger; for the Spaniards had lately built a new Fort, which at this time was in a very good Condition; and firing with the utmost Fury on the Pyrates, put them into some Disorder. However, in spite of the Opposition they met with, they landed, and a very sharp Engagement began, which continued for a

a long While : At length the *Spaniards*, about the dark of the Night, began to retreat. The *Pyrates* durst not venture to pursue, because they were unacquainted with the Place, and were afraid of an Ambuscade ; but in a few Hours, *Morgan* finding every thing quiet, ventured alone to the Walls of the Fort, which he found deserted ; on this he returned, and acquainted the rest ; who came forwards, and took Possession of the Place : Here they found a vast Quantity of Powder, and a great Number of small Arms ; they nailed all the great Guns, and having divided the Ammunition among the Ships, set Sail again, and made for *Maracaibo* ; but being obliged to stop by reason of a Shoal, they left their Ships, took Canoes, and got to the City next Day. They had no sooner landed, but they immediately ran to the Fort *de la Barra*, which they found likewise deserted, together with the City, the *Spaniards* not daring to tempt their Courage, or defend themselves ; and having before felt the barbarous Rage of these Sort of Men, had no mind to expose themselves to their Fury, a second time ; but carried off their best Effects with them.

The *Pyrates*, not finding any Prize, were prodigiously out of Humour ; they sent a Party to the Woods to make Discovery, who returned with about Thirty Prisoners, and Fifty Mules loaded with Goods : On these innocent Wretches they exercised the most horrible Torments, thereby endeavouring to extort a Confession, where the rest of the Inhabitants and their Riches, were concealed : Some had their Limbs stretched with Cords, and at the same time were beat with Sticks, and other Instruments ; others had burning Matches placed betwixt their Fingers, or Cords twisted about their Heads, till their Eyes started out of the Skull. Thus they continued their Tortures for almost Three Weeks. Every Day Parties were sent abroad, who returned with Riches, and new Prisoners ; and *Morgan* having now about a
Hundred

Hundred of the chief Inhabitants in his Hands, resolved to go on to *Gibraltar*. He new-equipp'd his Fleet, and sent some of the Prisoners before to persuade them to surrender, or expect no Mercy ; but on his Arrival, he was saluted with a furious Fire from the Cannon of the Place : But this no ways damped their Spirits ; their Showers of Death only animated them with the greater Fury.

Notwithstanding this warm Reception, and the continued Vollies which were discharged upon them, they resolutely went ashore ; and being conducted by their *French* Guide, made all possible Dispatch to get to the Town ; but the Citizens, surprized at such an amazing Attempt, began to doubt if it was possible to resist their Attack. Fear oftentimes magnifies Danger, and it was no difficult thing to persuade the terrified Inhabitants, that they had no other Refuge but to fly. With one Consent they left the City, having first taken care to secure their Money and Effects, carrying the greatest Part along with them, and burying the rest, that so the Pyrates, finding nothing to invite their Stay, might the sooner depart.

In this Hurry one only Person was forgot, who being an Idiot, had no Apprehension of the Danger : This Wretch fell into the merciless Hands of *Morgan's* Crew, who not giving Ear to any thing but the barbarous Dictates of their own Cruelty, put the unfortunate Creature to the Rack. They lifted him up with Cords, and tied huge Weights to his Feet and Neck ; besides this, they almost burnt him alive ; his Face was scorched with the Flames, and his whole Body mangled in such a pitiful manner, that he soon expired amidst the Torture.

The Pyrates, being thus disappointed of their Hopes of Plunder, were perfectly uneasy ; they swore and raged, and vowed the bloodiest Revenge ; they immediately detached several Parties, who were sent to range the Woods, and discover

the Retreat of the miserable *Spaniards*. One of them soon returned with a Peasant and his two Daughters, whom they had made Prisoners: This Man, being immediately threatened with the Rack, had not Courage to undergo the Torture. He meanly preferred his own Ease to the Good of the rest of his Fellow-citizens, and offered to discover the Places to which they had retired: But the *Spaniards*, whose wary Eyes had perceived their Enemies ranging in Quest of them, used the Precaution to remove them further into the thickest of the Woods, and the Pyrates were once more disappointed. Upon this they hanged up the perfidious Peasant. Thus did mean Villainy meet a just Reward! Low and dastardly Souls, who ingloriously prefer their private Safety to the publick Good, seldom escape being involved in that Ruin which they hope by such base means to avoid.

Upon this Disappointment, the Pyrates divided themselves, and went out with a Resolution never to return, till they had found out the Place of the *Spaniards* Retreat. Their good Fortune led them to a Plain where they found one of the *Spanish* Slaves: This Fellow too well answered the Character of his Countrymen, and the Expectation of the Pyrates; for being won by their romantick Promises, he conducted them to the poor Huts of the miserable and affrighted *Spaniards*. They soon made a considerable Number Prisoners, on whom they exercised horrid and unheard-of Cruelties; for having returned to *Gibraltar* with vast Riches, they examined their Captives, and among others, a *Portuguese*, whom the Negroe (that was now become their Informer) reported to be very rich. This was an intire Falshood, and tho' the unfortunate Merchant protested that the little Money, and few Effects which he had acquired, were stolen in the general Confusion which the City was in on the Pyrates Arrival, yet they

they proceeded to their usual Barbarities; and without any Respect to his old Age, cruelly tied his two Thumbs and great Toes to some Stakes that were fixed in the Ground for that Purpose.

The Weight of his Body being wholly suspended in the Air by these Four small and tender Members, made him endure the most exquisite Torments; but not satisfied with this, they took a large Stone upwards of two hundred Weight, and laid it on his Breast. Altho these Tortures were of themselves sufficiently horrid, yet they proceeded to higher Degrees of Cruelty; and almost burned him to Death with lighted Palm-leaves. His very Eyes by the Violence of the Heat, were ready to start from their Orbits. All the Parts of his Body were so torn, shatter'd and mangled, that when he was loosed, he scarce retained the Form of a Man. In this wretched Condition he was carried to their *Corps du Guard*, and being threatned with fresh Torments, asked Liberty to converse with one of the Prisoners; which being allowed, he promised them five hundred Pieces of Eight on Condition they would set him at Liberty. This Proposal was rejected with Scorn; but having with the greatest Difficulty, raised the Sum to one thousand, they thought proper to accept of the Offer, and accordingly dismiss'd him. Nor was this unhappy *Portuguese* the only Person on whom they practised their Cruelty; others had the same, if not a worse Fate; some were hanged up by the Testicles or privy Members, and left in that tortured Condition, till they fell to the Ground. In this horrid State of Agony did they continue, till a sharp, but lingering Death put a Period to their unhappy Lives, unless some one of the Pyrates, more merciful than the rest, had the Charity to dispatch them at once. Others were crucified alive, and when they had a mind to be more gentle, they put their Prisoners

Prisoners Feet into a Fire : and, without the smallest Degree of Pity and Compassion kept them there, till they had extorted all that these poor Wretches knew of their unhappy Country-men.

But here I must not neglect to do Justice to Captain *Morgan's* Character, who neither authorized nor was present when these Barbarities were committed. And tho' Prejudice branded him with countenancing this cruel Treatment of the *Spaniards*, yet I am well assured, he was not in the Place to give Orders at that time ; for I have seen a Manuscript, writ by one who was concerned in the Expedition, which contains a Journal of their whole Procedure. This Relation, now in the Hands of a considerable Planter here, vindicates *Morgan* from these black Aspersions.

The Truth of the Matter stood thus : *Morgan*, having prevailed on a Slave to discover where the Governor of *Gibraltar*, and the most considerable Inhabitants, together with their Effects, lay concealed, went immediately with Two hundred Men to attack them. He likewise ordered Two hundred and Fifty more to march to a River, which discharges itself into the Lake, in Search of a Ship and Four Boats, which were richly laden with Goods ; and in the time of their Absence, all the above-named Cruelties were committed.

Morgan's Expedition proved unsuccessful ; for on the first Notice of his Approach, the Governor retired to a Mountain, which was almost inaccessible. The Pyrates soon saw it was impossible to expect any Success. He was too well secured to fear their Attack, and they too much fatigued to attempt to dislodge him. *Morgan* returned, having lost a great many Men by his rash Conduct ; for their Fatigue was so great, their Marches so long, their Provision so bad, and the Weather so unwholesome, that many perished in the Journey.

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The Success of the other Party made some Amendments for this Loss: They seized on the Ships and Boats, and brought all the Treasure they contained into *Gibraltar*.

The Pyrates, finding it impossible to hold the Place any longer, and being tired with repeated Rapes and Murders, began to think of a Retreat. They had now been long absent from *Maracaibo*, and were afraid the *Spaniards* had taken Measures to hinder their Departure out of the Lake. Having therefore put the Town, and all the Prisoners, to a Ransom, they set Sail, and in Four Days arrived at *Maracaibo*. Here they found every thing in the same State they had left it, but were soon confounded with an Account, that Three *Spanish* Men of War were arrived at the Entry of the Lake, of a much superior Force to theirs, and resolved to dispute the Passage. They forthwith dispatched one of their quickest sailing Boats for Intelligence, which in a short time returned with the dismal News, that it was all Fact; and further, that the *Spaniards* had again fortified the Castle of the Entry of the Lake, put it into a good Posture of Defence, provided it with a large Garison, a great Number of fine Guns, and all sorts of Ammunition.

In these sad Circumstances, every one began to despair. There was no possible way of Retreat left. Their Enemies were too powerful to be engaged with, and they had no other View, but of falling alive into the Hands of the revengeful *Spaniards*, who, they knew, would not fail to treat them with the Rigour and Severity, which their own barbarous Actions so well deserved.

While every thing bore this dark and gloomy Aspect, and all were afraid, *Morgan* alone remained unshaken and unmoved. On this Occasion he acted the Hero; nothing could daunt his intrepid Soul; his Courage surmounted all Difficulties, and afforded an Example, that the Resolu-
tion

tion of one daring Spirit in time of Danger is oftentimes more to be valued, than the Swords of Thousands of a less noble and exalted Turn. He boldly sent one of his Prisoners to the *Spanish* Admiral, and demanded a Tribute, or he would set the City of *Maracaibo* on Fire. This Man delivered his Message to the great Surprize of the *Spaniards*, who could not imagine whence such a Resolution should proceed, considering they looked upon the Pyrates as their Prisoners. However, as they expected a desperate Engagement, they thought it most proper to offer them Terms, tho' very hard ones; for the *Spanish* Admiral wrote a Letter to *Morgan*, in which he proposed to let him pass if he would deliver up all his Prisoners, and whatever he had plundered at *Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar*. This preremptory Demand of the Don was as shocking to the Pirate, as if he had bid them surrender at Discretion. The Riches they had got, were what they had exposed their Lives in order to obtain; and they resolved to die, rather than tamely resign what they had bought at so dear a Price.

As open Force appeared a dangerous Expedient, they thought fit on this Occasion, to make use of Art and Stratagem. A Fire-ship was contrived with such Ingenuity, that it was impossible for their Enemies to discover her to be one. They filled her Deck with Logs of Wood set upright, on which they put Hats, and *Montera* Caps, that they might appear to their Enemies as so many Men. Counterfeit Cannon were placed at the Port-holes, and *English* Colours displayed. Having gathered all the Pitch, Tar, Brimstone, and other combustible Matter, they prepared themselves to go to the Entry of the Port. *Morgan* exacted an Oath of all his Associates, never to yield to the *Spaniards*, but defend themselves to the last Drop of Blood. Thus they advanced with amazing Intrepidity, and came up with the

the three *Spanish* Ships. The Fireship immediately grappled with the largest, and set her in a Blaze.

Another, seeing the Misfortune of the Admiral, and apprehensive of the same Danger, run ashore. The third fell an easy Prey to the Pyrates. Nothing could have happened more agreeable than this Victory. Their Spirits were now revived, and with one Consent they went ashore, and made a furious Attack on the Castle: But it was so well defended by the *Spaniards* within, that all their Attempts were vain. The Pyrates retired, and prepared for another Assault. By this time the Courage of the *Spaniards* began to fail; and Terms being offered, the Pyrates accepted of 15000 Pieces of Eight, and thereupon went quietly away. On a Computation of what Purchase they had made, they found in all 250,000 Pieces of Eight, besides a huge Quantity of Jewels, Merchandize and Slaves. This Booty was divided among the Adventurers, according to the respective Proportions which had been before agreed on; and soon after the successful Pyrates reached *Jamaica*, where, for a While, they indulged themselves in all the Excesses which Luxury could invent.

The Name of *Morgan* was now famous at home, and terrible abroad. He himself promised greater things than he had yet attempted; and nothing was thought impossible for such Courage to perform. He no sooner proclaimed his Design of another Expedition, than thousands flocked to attend him. They all embarked with a great deal of Joy, and directed their Course to *Hispaniola*. On their Arrival in that Island, they sent out Parties to seek for Provision. There they endured a good deal of Hardship; but at last their Difficulties were removed, and they got all manner of Stores in Plenty.

Having

Having dispatched their Business there, they made for the Island of *St. Katherine's*, which after a short Resistance they took and plundered. The Treachery of the Governor let it fall sooner into their Hands than it would otherwise have done. *Morgan* resolved to keep this as a Place of Retreat ; and having reduced it entirely to his Obedience, he left more than one half of his Forces to defend it.

With the rest, he attacked the Castle of *Cbagre*, which made a very brave Resistance ; and had it not been an Accident, which determined them to surrender, it would probably have repelled all their Assaults. One of the Pyrates happened to be wounded with an Arrow : He immediately pulled it out ; and having wrapped a little Cotton about its bloody Point, put it into his Musket, and fired it off to the Castle. The Cotton was kindled by the Powder, and falling near their Magazine, blew it all up at once. This soon made them yield ; and now Captain *Morgan* was full of his Voyage to *Panama*.

He set out with twelve hundred Men upon the 18th of *August* 1670.

The Hardships this Party underwent were surprizing ; they not only struggled with common Difficulties, but likewise encountred Famine and every kind of Misery. They were reduced to feed upon the Leaves of Trees, and to take unheard-of Methods to preserve their Lives.

These Difficulties were owing to the prudent Foresight of the Governor of *Panama*, who had taken care to ruin and lay waste the Country, thro' which he knew they must necessarily pass. But no Obstacles were sufficient to obstruct *Morgan's* Designs, or thwart his Measures ; he marched boldly on. At last they came to a high Mountain, from the Summit of which they were able to descry the *South-Sea*. This happy Sight gave them inexpressible Joy, and they descended with
a brave

a brave Eagerness, in Quest of a Place, which they had so long wandered in Search of. They had not gone far till they found themselves in a fine Valley, which was not only well watered, but abounded with Cattle. The Pyrates, *for this once*, blessed Heaven for the joyful Sight. They directly fell to killing: and having made Fires, dressed the best Meal they had eat for a long While. The brave, and no less cautious *Morgan*, allowed them but a very little time to satisfy their Hunger, being afraid in such an unguarded Hour they might be surprized by some of the *Spanish* Parties, which he had Intelligence, surrounded him on all Sides. He therefore ordered his Followers to continue their March; and detached a Party of fifty Men to take Prisoners, if possible.

A little While after, they came within Prospect of the highest Steeple of *Panama*. This Sight inspired them with a mad and singular kind of Joy. They shouted, halloed, tossed up their Hats in the Air, and leaped like Men deprived of the Use of Reason. All the Trumpets were sounded, and every Drum was beat, as a Proof of that Joy and Satisfaction, which upon this Occasion reigned in every Breast.

They chearfully advanced towards the City, and it being now near Night, encamped on the Plain, at a little Distance from it. A Party of Horse immediately sallied out, but thought it not proper to come within Musket-shot of them. At the same time two hundred *Spaniards* appeared on another Quarter; but they too thought fit to keep quiet, and only observe the Pyrates Motions. In the mean time the great Guns from the City played upon their Camp; but the Pyrates, who were used to such kind of Musick, opened their Satchels, and fell to Supper, resolving next Day to pay them in their own Coin.

Early in the Morning they set forward on the great Road, which leads to the Town; but being afraid of Ambuscades, if they should pursue that Way, suddenly turned aside, and chose a more difficult Path. This was a great Disappointment to the *Spaniards*, who were now obliged to quit their Batteries and Posts, and come out to meet them. The Governor of *Panama* advanced at the Head of two Squadrons of Horse, Four Regiments of Foot, and a vast Number of wild Bulls, which were driven by the *Indians* and Negroes.

As soon as the Pyrates saw such a numerous Army they began to be afraid; but reflecting that they had no Hopes left, but either it must be Death or Victory, they encouraged one another, and resolved to make their utmost Efforts to obtain the latter.

On their Approach, the *Spanish* Horse began to move, but were opposed by two hundred Pyrates, who gave them a Volley of Shot.

The Battle soon turned hot: Numbers fell on both Sides. The *Spaniards* fought very courageously, and did all they could to ruin and disorder the Pyrates; but nothing could withstand the Valour with which they fought. The Fury of their Attacks were unsupportable. The *Spaniards* finding themselves so hardly pressed, attempted to drive the Bulls upon their Rear: But these Creatures were frightened with the Noise of the Battle, and ran away. The Engagement lasted upwards of two Hours, and the *Spanish* Army being broke on all Quarters, at last fled in the greatest Disorder. Many fell in the Pursuit; but the Slaughter had been greater if the Pyrates had not been fatigued, and consequently unable to follow. The Prisoners who were so unfortunate as to fall into their Hands were instantly murdered. *Morgan* learned from one of them the true State of the City, that Trenches were made, and Batteries raised in a great many Places, which were defended by

by a Number of Canon ; that the Entry of the Highway, which led to the City, was guarded by a Fort erected for that Purpose, and mounted with eighteen great Guns. This Prisoner likewise told him, that the Governor had that Day brought into the Field of Battle 400 Horse, 3000 Foot, 200 *Indians*, and 2000 wild Bulls.

On this Intelligence, he instantly commanded them to march another Way, being resolved to pursue the Victory he had gained, and give the *Spaniards* no Time to repose. On a Review of his Forces, he found, that no less than 200 had fallen in the Engagement : 600 *Spaniards* were found dead on the Spot, besides a great many wounded, whom they soon took care to dispatch. Although his Party was thus weakened, yet he marched boldly up to the Town, and gave the Assault. The *Spaniards* made a furious Fire ; their great Guns were loaded with small Pieces of Iron, and Musket-bullets ; and the Shot being well aimed, a great many Pyrates fell at every Discharge. But nothing could deter them ; they boldly faced the Danger, and gained Ground every Moment upon the Enemy. For three Hours the Townsmen did all that lay in their Power to preserve the City : They fought with the greatest Resolution, but were at length forced to yield to the superior Courage of the Assailants. The Pyrates possessed themselves of the Town, and made an incredible Slaughter of the Inhabitants. They found the Warehouses well stocked with all Sorts of Merchandize, and every kind of Provision in great Plenty. This was what the Pyrates had at this time the greatest Occasion for : But the wary *Morgan* suspected the Wines might be poisoned, and therefore gave express Orders that none should dare to taste them : And certainly nothing could argue a more prudent and politick Conduct for he well knew, his half-starved Party would

immediately give themselves over to 'all kind of Excess, and unman themselves to such a degree, that they would fall an easy Prey, in case the *Spaniards* should dare to attack them; and the making them credit the Suspicion of the Wines being poison'd, was the only Means to restrain them.

Having disposed of every thing to the best Advantage, and posted Guards at convenient Places, all at once the City was set on a Flame. The Houses, being mostly of Cedar were soon consumed; and that flourishing Town, which excelled any in the *West Indies*, either for magnificent Structures, Riches, or Number of Buildings, was in one Day reduced to Ashes; 7000 Houses were burned down, and the Flames were so violent, that notwithstanding the utmost Efforts to extinguish them, they spread and continued their Fury, till not a single Cottage was left unconsumed.

The Blame of this black and barbarous Action was generally laid upon *Morgan*, but without the least Ground; for he not only always disclaimed his Knowledge of the Matter, but wrote a Justification of himself as to this Particular, which is yet extant, and to be seen in the Hands of a considerable Number in this Island. It seemed likely, that some of the Prisoners had found means to perpetrate the Fact. It is not to be imagined, that those Men, who are actuated by no other Views but the Love of Gain, and adventured so far, and exposed themselves to such Dangers, on that very Account would destroy their Hopes, and at once take effectual Methods to consume what they had gained at the Expence of so much Toil and Blood. On the other hand, that revengeful Temper which is the Characteristick of the *Spanish* Nation, might easily induce them to such an Action, to disappoint the Pyrates Expectations, and rather see their Riches in a Flame than in their Possession; for these Reasons it can't be thought, the Ruin of
this

this fine City was owing to any thing else but *Spanish* Revenge.

After the Fire had spent itself, the Pyrates fell to work on the Ruins, and found vast Quantities of Gold and Silver, but especially in the Wells and Cisterns, into which Millions had been thrown. They continued here near three Months, and, in the mean time, having got abundance of Prisoners, they extorted large Sums, by Way of Ransome from these unhappy Captives: Nor were they idle in other Respects; they sent two Ships to the *South-Sea*, to make Discoveries; but whether thro' the bad Conduct of the Commanders, or some other unlucky Accident, they did nothing. A rich *Spanish* Galleon passed them without their firing one Shot, and many other Prizes escaped their Hands. However the Party that was left at *Chagre*, made some amends for this ill Conduct: They took a great many Ships, some of an immense Value.

Morgan, perceiving that no more was to be done at *Panama*, resolved to depart; and having picked up whatever was valuable, set out, and soon after arrived at *Chagre*. There they made a dividend of what they had got. 'Tis not improbable but *Morgan* reserved too large a Share for himself; for the common Sailors had only 200 Pieces of Eight each. This was too small a Proportion, considering they carried off from *Panama* one hundred and seventy five Mules loaded with Silver, Gold, and other precious Spoils. His Crew mutiny'd, and he was glad to steal privately off with only three or four Ships, manned with such of his People as he could trust, and got to *Jamaica* with 400,000 Pieces of Eight in Specie.

After such repeated Successes, the brave *Morgan* was at last unfortunate, not through the Valour of his Enemies, but the Treachery of his Countrymen, who were bribed by *Spanish* Gold to procure his Ruin. As he never acted without

a Commission, he refused to prosecute his further Designs, when the Governor recalled it. Many sharp Memorials were presented to the Court of *England*, against the Governor of *Jamaica*, for encouraging the Pyrates. The *Spanish* Remonstrances had their desired Effect: *Morgan* was discouraged, and threatened with a Trial for his pyratrical Courses. However, his Money saved him at that time. With what he had left, he purchased a Plantation, which he lived upon, and improved. His Behaviour retained nothing of the Roughness of the Pyrate, and on all the Stages of Civil Life, he acted a truly great and becoming Part: He recommended himself so effectually to the good Opinion of all, that he was admitted into the Council of the Island, was knighted by the King and afterwards enjoyed the Place of Lieutenant-Governor, which he filled with the greatest Applause. But many Years after he was called to an Account for his Actions; and notwithstanding he had ever acted by Commission from the Governor and Council of *Jamaica*, and had received their publick Thanks; yet, upon a Letter from the Secretary of State, he was sent Prisoner to *England*, and, without having any Crime laid to his Charge, or being ever brought to a Hearing, he was long confined: By which means, that sound and robust Constitution, which neither the Toils of War, the Shocks of Famine, nor the Fatigues of Watching, had hitherto impaired, was at last quite broken and ruined, oppressed and borne down by keen Opposition, and the tyrannical Measures of a Court-Faction: He was seized with a slow and lingering Distemper, which at once robbed him of Life, and the World of a truly great Man; one who reflected Honour on his Country, struck Terror into *Spain*, and performed Exploits in these Seas, equal, if not superior,

superior, to any that ever flowed from *English* Courage.

This short Abstract of so heroick a Life will furnish you with a strong and lively Idea of the Man, and convince you, that a Soul nobly daring, a Mind breathing pure and untainted Heroism, may be lodged in a Body sprung from the meanest of Mortals. The Meanness of *Morgan's* Parentage, and the Lowness of his Birth were Circumstances which could not possibly check his aspiring Soul in her eager Pursuit after Glory. Sprung, as he was, from a Farmer, he soon raised himself to such a Situation in Life, as daily called upon him to shew the vast Odds betwixt a hardy, courageous, free *Briton*, and a dastardly, mean-spirited, enslaved *Spaniard*. This Captain had Commissions to prey upon the *Spaniards*, from two successive Governors, who discovered a penetrating Judgment, by making Choice of *Morgan* for this Effect. Did the same Sentiments continue to warm the Breasts, and fire the Souls of our present Governors, we should hear no more of *Spanish* Depredations. In these Days no *Spaniard* durst offer to insult a *Briton*. The very Sight of *English* Colours was sufficient to strike a panick Terror into whole Fleets. Now *, our brave Sailors work in the *Spanish* Mines; our Merchants Effects are seized: We may complain; but, good God! — we dare not make Reprisals. The same Spirit, the same Ardour, yet animate the Breasts of the *English* Subjects; and were sufficient Encouragement, given, this Colony alone would again be able to chastise the haughty Dons, and make them repent their rash and barbarous Insults. Not a Heart but flames with Indignation: War is what every one wishes, and all would chearfully unite to do themselves

* It is almost needless to say, that this Letter was written before the Declaration of the present War against *Spain*.

Justice, and retrieve the Glory and Splendor of the *British* Arms, which in these Parts of the World are quite despised. Before I put a Close to this Epistle, it will not be improper to observe, That the Love of Gain oftentimes proves the most powerful Incentive to great Actions, which tho' ordinarily judged to flow from a certain innate Greatness of Soul, are nevertheless frequently the Off-spring of a Passion more mean and sordid, namely, Avarice: And Self-love, and the Desire of private Good, many times makes a Hero, as well as a Coward. This prevailing Principle seems to be one of the greatest Sources whence these Actions, which commanded the Esteem and Admiration of Mankind flow. To bear the first Character, and enjoy the highest Place in *Rome*; animated a *Cæsar* to plot the Ruin of his Country: The same Motives determined the daring *Cromwell* to usurp the Power and Authority of a King. These were the Principles which they kept still in View, and pushed them on to Toil and Danger, to Glory and to Conquest. And to raise himself above his native Meanness, was the first Cause that led *Morgan* to seek Glory and Riches, in the midst of Dangers, in a new World. I would not have you imagine, that I look upon Vice as the Origin of Virtue: No! such Principles I detest as base, and the dazzling Consequences of them I view with an Eye of equal Horror. These Murderers of Mankind, who, from private Views make their Fellow-mortals fall the guiltless Victims of their Ambition, and massacre Thousands to gain themselves a Name; they and their Actions are justly branded with Infamy and Reproach, by every wise and thinking Man.

In giving you this short Account of so remarkable a Life, I have been obliged to interrupt the Order of my Narration; for *Morgan* not only flourished during the Government of Sir *Thomas Mordaunt*,

Moddiford, but likewise during that of Sir *Thomas Lynch*.

I am SIR, Yours, &c.

LETTER VI.

SIR,

HAVING finished this Account of the most considerable Pyrates that infested the *American* Seas, I shall now proceed to give you a short but distinct Recital of what happened most remarkable from that time till now.

Sir *Thomas Moddiford* was one of the best Governors that ever *Jamaica* had; he perfectly understood the Way of managing the new Colony; he encouraged not only Trade, but likewise promoted new Settlements; he set a fair Example; for there was none that ever contributed so much to reduce the Island into good Order, or improved an Estate to better Advantage. In his Time the Island was first divided into Parishes or Precincts, by Virtue of a full Charter from the Crown; by which an Assembly or House of Representatives was appointed, Courts of Justice established, and every thing brought to an exact Order. I shall afterwards have Occasion to explain the different Powers of the Governor, Council and Assembly; only here it may not be improper to tell you, they are a near Representation of the *British* Government by Kings, Lords and Commons. Every Parish sends two Members, and each of the Towns three, to represent them in the Assembly: The first Proceedings of that sovereign Court are scarcely known; they made only a few temporary By-laws, which are now obsolete, or were revived in that great Assembly in the Year 1682, in which was first compiled a
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Body of Statutes, which I shall give you an Account of in its proper Place.

Sir *Thomas Moddiford* continued in the Government till 1669, when he was succeeded by Sir *Thomas Lynch*, who pursued the same Steps which his Predecessor had done before him : He encouraged the Pyrates, and found large Returns of Profit. Sir *Henry Morgan* had a Commission from him, and it was during his Government that he performed some of those great Actions, which render his Name immortal. Little happened worth remarking in this Governor's Time, except only the Exploits of the Pyrates : Private Affairs were regularly carried on. But it may be worth observing, that in his Time the first Instance happened of a Pursuit at Civil Law for a Debt. Since, indeed, they have improved on this Example ; for besides petty Actions, at every grand Court there are upwards of a thousand in the Roll. Some barbarous Murders were likewise committed at this Time by the Negroes on their Masters : To give an Account of 'em all, is not possible, and seems quite foreign to my present Design. But that you may be enabled to form a Judgment of that barbarous and inhuman Turn of Mind, which almost universally prevails among the Negroes, I shall give you a short but genuine and candid Account of the Manner in which a Set of them treated one of their unfortunate Masters.

In the Precinct of *St. Anne's*, which is situated on the North Skirts of the Island, there lived a Planter, famous for his Riches, and justly valued for his generous and hospitable Disposition : His Inclination to assist the Distressed, and afford a seasonable Relief to those that were in calamitous Circumstances, prevailed so much over his Desire of bettering his Fortune, and increasing his Stores, that he never saw the least Instance of Misery, without endeavouring either to alleviate or quite remove it : But this Goodness of his Disposition brought

brought about the Loss of his Life ; for happening one Day to take a Turn thro' a Part of that Spot of Ground which he possessed, he heard such Groans and Sighs, as seemed to proceed from a Heart that was filled with real Woe. Having a genuine and unfeigned Satisfaction in doing Good, he directed his Steps to that Quarter, from whence he thought the Sound proceeded : He had not gone far, till he espied a young Man, emaciated to such a Degree, that he had scarce the Resemblance of a human Creature left about him. The Eyes of this hospitable and tender hearted Planter had no sooner viewed him, than his Heart was touched with Compassion for him. He asked him whence he came ? and in a friendly manner inquired into the Cause of his Misfortunes. The Youth replied, he was a Negroe, who had deserted his Master's Service, and found means to join some Run-aways, who had treated him so cruelly, that he was reduced to the Necessity of leaving them. The Planter did not insolently triumph over his Misery, but readily offered to do what in him lay, to place him in a happier State, and in better Circumstances. The young Man readily embraced an Offer so kind. His Strength was either so far exhausted, as that he was not able, or his Dissimulation so great, as that he was not willing to walk home with his new Benefactor. The friendly Planter, however, soon fell upon Means to get him conveyed to his own Plantation. Here nothing, which either due Attendance, or the Art of Physick, could contribute to Health, was wanting. By the Skill of the Physician, and the joint Efforts of Nature, he soon got the better of his Distemper ; and finding him at last in a confirmed State of Health, the generous Gentleman conceived a Liking to him, procured his Pardon, and purchased him from his former Owner. The Youth was put to Work ; but Labour ill agreed with his Taste and Genius ; he thought it below him

him to be a Slave, and reckoned it a dastardly Lowness of Soul to obey a Superior. He was naturally a Lover of the female Sex, and had his Thoughts much turned upon little Gallantries and Intrigue. In short he liked Debauchery better than the Fatigue of Work, and had a stronger Inclination to dally with the female Slaves, than to plant his Master's Sugar-cane: A Man of this Character seldom fails to act such a Part as calls for Punishment. The Extravagance of Youth called for due Chastisement. Upon this, he conceived a mortal Hatred to his Master; and being a Man of a sly insinuating Turn, he soon recommended himself to his Fellow-slaves, and brought them so effectually over to his Interests, that he was capable of persuading them to come into any Measures he pleased. Convinced of this, he ventures to make a Proposal: He tells them he would rescue them from Slavery, and place them in such Circumstances, as would enable them to relish the true Pleasures of Life, provided they would lend their Aid to dispatch their common Master. How this was at first relished by the Consciences of the Negroes, I cannot tell; but their Conduct, in the Issue, declared, that they had got over all their petty Scruples, with regard to the Lawfulness of the Action. They appointed the Silence of the Night, as a Season most proper for the Perpetration of so horrid and execrable a Crime. At the Time agreed upon, they met in a Body, and like so many enraged Furies, put their bloody Purpose in Execution. Armed with Resolution (by a Reflection upon their own Danger, if they should miscarry) they boldly went through with what they intended: They environed their Master's House, and resolutely forced their Way into that Apartment, where he himself lay fast asleep. To dispatch him at once, in this Situation, they thought a Favour too great to be conferred upon him: They chose rather to rouse him up, that so his Mind

Mind might be there more forcibly struck with the unavoidable Death he saw himself obliged to undergo. Being awaked, they gagged him, lest by his Cries he should alarm his Family, or the Neighbourhood. Secure of his Silence, they plied his Ears with the most terrible Threats, and presented to his Eyes the most formidable and glaring Instruments of Death. After this, they, by turns, wounded his most tender and sensible Parts, till his Soul took its Flight from a Body so inhumanly shatter'd by the cruel Hands of a Set of Men, for whom Villains would be a Name too mild and gentle. The Head of the Family being thus secretly dispatched, they fell to Work with the rest. His Wife, without regard to her Merit, and her former Kindness to them, fell first a Sacrifice to their brutal Lust, and then to their unparalell'd Cruelty. The rest of the Family had all a Fate as cruel as these Monsters could invent. One Vice generally lays a Foundation for another. The Murders committed upon this Family obliged the Negroes to go further: They saw themselves exposed to imminent Danger, as long as there were any white Men in the Plantation. They thought they would be secure, if they were treated in the same manner with their Master. Therefore they proceeded to complete the Tragedy.

All the Barbarities that could either be invented by Cruelty or committed by Rage and Fury, were practised upon these unhappy Men. Some of them were indeed dispatched in a Minute: This was not owing to the Mercy of the Negroes, but to the Haste they were in. Others this villainous Set of Murderers tortured in the most inhuman manner. The Dread of being apprehended by the neighbouring Plantations, forced them to take Measures, which hitherto they had not thought of: They knew their Fate if they should happen to be taken: And as the Execution of

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Justice

Justice is always terrible to Villains, so they inclined to make their Escape. The Mountains to the Leeward seemed the most convenient Shelter for them: Thither they went in a Body and from time to time have been joined by such large Parties of runaway Negroes, that their Body is now become formidable to the Inhabitants; and the Remains of these Wretches, to this Day, continue to murder and rob in that Part of the Island.

Altho' every one lamented this unhappy Accident, yet few took sufficient Care to pursue these wretched Murderers, till they had secured themselves in almost inaccessible Fastnesses. Several flying Parties were indeed sent out; but as these were only a Parcel of raw Men, detached from the neighbouring Plantations, they returned with Loss of many of their own Party, occasioned by the Heat and intolerable Fatigue of marching in the Woods.

About this Time the *Spanish* Ambassador was making daily and successful Remonstrances to the *English* Court, relating to the Depredations committed by the Pyrates: And as it was well known, that the Governor of *Jamaica* countenanced them, the chief Complaints were laid against his Conduct; which had such Influence on the Court, that Sir *Thomas Lynch* was at last recalled, and the Lord *Vaughan* sent in his Room.

This Nobleman, having express Instructions to discourage and pursue the Pyrates, set about it with the greatest Eagerness; and having proclaimed his Intentions of preserving inviolably the Peace betwixt his Master and the King of *Spain*, he recalled, all the Commissions which his Predecessor had given, and forbid every Act of Hostility. In Consequence of this, he took care to hang up a great many of these unfortunate Fellows, who being used to that desperate Course of Life, could not

not find in their Hearts to give it over. Several of these had landed in *Cuba*, and committed their usual Barbarities. But now *Jamaica* was no longer a Refuge; the Governor secured them on their first Arrival, and hanged them every one: This just, tho' severe Usage, deterred others, and so they soon dwindled to nothing.

The Planters, who had found their Account, by encouraging the Pyrates, were very uneasy, and still privately supported them; but they were so inconsiderable, that they never durst attempt any thing of Moment: And the Gentlemens Views being thus frustrated, they turned their Thoughts to improving their Estates, and very soon came to equal any of the other Colonies, (*Barbadoes* not excepted) for both the Goodness and Quantity of their Sugars.

The People here date the Beginning of the Colony's Decline, from the Time of the Lord *Vaughan's* Government; for besides his putting a Stop to that Flow of Riches, which daily poured upon the Island by the Pyrates Means, another Step of the *English* Court equally discouraged the new Settlers, and reduced them to very pressing Difficulties.

This was occasioned by the Institution of the Royal *African* Company. King *Charles* granted them a Charter, bearing Date *September* the 26th, 1672, to trade to *Guiney*, *Angolo*, and *South Barbary*, exclusive of all others. A great many Persons of the first Rank and greatest Distinction, were concerned in this Company, such as the Duke of *York*, afterwards King *James II.* Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. The Influence of these eminent Men procured such an ample Charter, that in Virtue of it they pretended to monopolize the whole Trade of these Parts, and make Prize of all Ships that came from any of these Countries with Negroes, or other Merchandize without their Licence.

This unjust Monopoly gave a great deal of Uneasiness to the Colonies, particularly *Jamaica*; for the Planters used before, at very easy Rates, to supply their Plantations with what Slaves they wanted; and now they were reduced to a Necessity, of not only desisting from that useful Commerce, but likewise to buy, at extravagant Rates, such as they had Occasion for: At first they continued to trade as before, but all their Ships were seized, and the Goods condemned. 'Tis impossible to recount the Hardships which that Company made the Colonies suffer. One Planter lost upwards of 10,000 *l.* The Men of War were fitted out with no other Design, but to prey upon the Interlopers. The Governor of *Barbadoes* had like to have been turned out of his Place, for seeming only to oppose these hard Measures. In *Jamaica* the Gentlemen had a little more Spirit, than tamely to sit down with their Loss; Mr. *Bernard* prosecuted the Company's Agents for an unjust Seizure, and recovered his Ship and Cargo. But however, the Tyranny of that Company, and their Agents, was quite insupportable, and would have soon effected the Ruin of the Sugar Islands, if the Parliament had not timely interposed, and laid the Trade of *Africa*, in a great Measure open.

'Twas about this critical Time, that the Court of *England* thought fit to quit all Pretensions to *Surinam*, and give it up to the *Dutch*. The *English* Colony was, in Consequence of this Cession, transplanted to *Jamaica*, whither they came to the Number of 1200, poor, sickly, and distressed. The Gentlemen who were commissioned to remove them, acted a very honest Part; and when they came hither, they were well received, and had a large Tract of Land in the Precinct of *St. Elizabeth's*, laid out for their Use. In that Part of the Island they settled, and being industrious, soon became considerable. Their Posterity enjoy some

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of the finest Estates in *Jamaica*, and some of them are now in the most considerable Offices of Trust and Profit. This Addition of Hands did the Island a considerable Service ; and the kind Entertainment they met with, made them forget their former Hardships. Indeed, the Removal of the Colony of *Surinam*, was the only good thing that befel *Jamaica* in the Lord *Vaughan's* Time.

The Memory of that Nobleman is very odious here, and they date their decline, as I have said, from his Government ; they charge him with unbounded Avarice, that he sold his own Domesticks, and laid intolerable Imposts on all kind of Goods. The Council and Assembly were little minded ; the Governor loved to rule without their Assistance, and followed the Method which was then in Vogue in *England*, to take as little of the Advice of Parliaments as could be done. However, I am apt to imagine, these severe Censures may proceed from the hearty Opposition that Nobleman made to the Pyrates ; for he pursued them with the utmost Rigour and Severity : By this means the Island missed its wonted Opportunities of amassing the Wealth of the New World ; and no doubt, this gave the Planters a sincere Distaste at a Man who stopt that Stream, which poured such plentiful Showers of Riches upon them ; and at last, the Clamour against his Management became so universal, that the Court thought it prudent to recal him, and send the Right Honourable *Charles Earl of Carlisle* in his Room.

This Nobleman arrived at *Jamaica* in the Year 1678, and immediately set about to redress the Grievances of the People : He relaxed a great deal of that stern Severity, which had appeared but too much in the precedent Government ; and made a great many excellent Regulations for the better Defence of the Colony, which to this Day subsist.

The Island was at this time alarmed with Fears of a *French* Invasion. The Count *d'Estrees* was in these Seas with a fine Squadron of Men of War; and as, at this time there was a bad understanding betwixt the *English* and *French* Courts, this Colony was afraid there might be Designs against them; but these Apprehensions were groundless, and their Thoughts were diverted from that Fear, with Reports of Plots in *England*; for just before, the execrable Popish Plot came to Light; and as a great many silly Rumours were designedly spread, the Island was put into a terrible Consternation.

The Earl of *Carlisle*, finding his Health impaired, and the Warmness of the Climate to disagree with his Constitution, returned to *England*, leaving, as the fittest Man, the brave Sir *Henry Morgan* to govern till the King's Pleasure should be known.

Sir *Henry* was not yet fallen under the Displeasure of the Court, and was looked upon as one that was the ablest (in case of any Trouble) to rule a Colony, the Interests of which he understood so well; and seeing a Necessity of pursuing the same Measures with the former Governors, and considering the strict Orders of the *English* Court, he set about extirpating the Pyrates, who yet remained with his usual Resolution. How far such a Conduct can be excused in him, who had been the most notorious of them all, I shall not determine; altho' there was at the same Time, a great Disparity of Circumstances betwixt them; for Sir *Henry* never acted without any express Commission, which he imagined sanctified his Actions; and whenever it was recalled, he too laid aside his former Course of Life, and committed not one pyratrical Action, after the Government withdrew its Protection.

These, on the other hand, were such who acted against express Declarations, without any Commission,

mission, and who deserved to be rooted out, for disobeying the Order of their King, and his lawful Officers: But which way soever the Case is, 'tis past all doubt, that Sir *Henry* pursued and destroyed them.

He got Intelligence of one *Everson*, a notorious old Pyrate, that was in *Cow-bay*, with a Sloop and a *Barqua-longa*; well armed, and immediately dispatched a Sloop, which was an excellent Sailor to fight and destroy him. He cautiously went about the Work; and having set Centinels to prevent the Pyrate's getting Notice of his Approach, came up with him. A smart Engagement ensued, which was maintained for a long While, with the greatest Courage and Resolution; but a Shot happening to kill the Captain of the Pyrate Sloop, his Men became disheartened, and they were soon boarded: Some of them escaped in Canoes, but the greatest Part submitted, and had Quarter given.

Sir *Henry* refused to do Justice on these Offenders himself, but sent them to the Governor of *Carthagera* by Captain *Haywood*, where they met with the Fate which their Crimes deserved.

He continued in the Government till the Year 1682, and still behaved in such a manner as gained him universal Esteem. He shewed the World, that he equally understood the Arts of Peace and of War; that he was qualified to govern as well as to fight, and that in all Stations of Life he was a great Man. I have seen here a curious Picture of Sir *Henry*, done at his own Desire; he is drawn at Length, and there appears something so awful and majestick in his Countenance, that I'm persuaded none can look upon it without a kind of Veneration. As he was only at first a Servant to a Planter in *Barbadoes*, and tho' that State of Life be the meanest and most disgraceful, which a white Man can be in, yet he never disowned the

the Fact; yea, so far to the contrary, that the Chain and Pot-hooks are painted by his own Order in the Picture I spoke of just now. These are Instruments which are used to punish Slaves and Servants, when they commit a Fault; and such an Instance of a truly great Soul, which, amidst almost a regal Pomp, was not unmindful of its pristine State, is rarely to be found; at least, I'm sure, it was never before or since known in this Island.

Sir *Thomas Lynch* was again made Governor: He arrived in the Year 1682. His encouraging Pyrates first turned him out, and his Loyalty to the King, which he expressed on all Occasions, restored him.

The first thing he set about, was regulating several Abuses which had insensibly crept into the Government; and finding that their Laws were but ill patched up, and worse observed, he summoned a Body of Men, which composed the best Assembly *Jamaica* ever saw. With indefatigable Care and Industry, they compiled a Body of Statutes, which are so well suited to the Circumstances of this Place, that succeeding Assemblies have added very little to these excellent Regulations. In my next I shall give you a summary Account of them, which at one View, will shew you the Difference betwixt our Statutes here, and those of the *British* Legislature, and enable you to form an Idea of the Difference of being governed according to the one and the other. But before I conclude this Letter, I shall observe, That this Assembly, great as it was, seemed to be actuated too much by Party-principles; for, on the News of the Presbyterian Plot, the Governor went and acquainted them with it, and they attended his Excellency soon after with an Address, that a Day might be solemnly set apart for a Thanksgiving, on Account of its happy Discovery, and timely Prevention. Indeed they
seemed

seemed to be agitated with the same persecuting Spirit which at that time too much prevailed in *England*. It was then fashionable to be severe to Dissenters; and tho' *Jamaica* was never troubled with many, yet they in their officious Wisdom, took care to provide against them. Several Laws were enacted, and several Penalties annexed, against those of a different Communion from the Church of *England*; and they thought it Merit to make a Stir against a Set of honest Men, who never intended to trouble them about their Non-conformity.

This shews us how far the Best may be misled, and what a fatal Influence a mistaken Zeal may have even on good Minds; for altho' their Principles might have induced them to support the Church of *England*, yet good ones could never teach them to persecute Dissenters, much less to make penal Laws against Non-conformity, when neither the Name nor Thing was hardly known among them.

I am, S I R, Yours, &c.

LETTER VII.

S I R,

I Here present you with an Abstract of the Laws now in Force in *Jamaica*; they were mostly compiled, as I said in my last, during the second Government of Sir *Thomas Lynch*, by a Set of as eminent Men as ever composed an Assembly. The Laws of *Jamaica* are printed at large in a neat *Octavo* Volume, and a very curious and exact Abstract made of them in a general Collection of the Plantation Laws, which I have mostly made use of in the following Detail, and added, both from the printed Statutes of 1718, and likewise from those since

since enacted, which are kept in the Secretary's Office, such as are most material, or deserve Notice.

You will observe, that whatever bad Character be given of this Place, its Wickedness proceeds not from a Want of good Regulations; but from a Neglect of putting them in Execution.

Of ALE-HOUSES and TAVERNS.

None shall have any Licence from the Governor to retail any strong Liquors, without Certificate under the Hands of Two Justices of Peace, and good Security given in the Secretary's Office of 100 *l.* Penalty, not to suffer any Disorders in his House.

None shall sell Rum or Rum-punch, without Licence from the Justices in Sessions, and Securities first given, under the Penalty of 40 *s.* for every Offence.

None shall entertain in their Houses, so licensed, any to tipple or drink in time of divine Service, under Penalty of 20 *s.* and the Person or Persons so found, each of them 5 *s.* to be levy'd by Distress, upon any one Justice of Peace's Warrant.

Whoever shall dishonour GOD by open Profaneness or Blasphemy, shall upon Conviction, be fined 20 *l.* or more, for every such Offence. Servants shall be liable to such corporal Punishment as the Judge shall think meet, Life and Limb excepted.

Every Person so licensed, as aforesaid, who suffers common Gaming, shall forfeit 10 *l.* and he that wins any Money by Fraud or false Dice, shall forfeit treble the Value thereof upon Conviction; and no Sum above 40 *s.* won at one Game or by Betting, shall be recoverable. All Bonds, Contracts, and Securities for above that Sum, won as aforesaid, shall be void.

Provided,

Provided, any Maker of Rum may, by himself or Servants, sell and vend the same pure and unmix'd.

The foresaid Penalties shall be one half to the King, towards the Support of the Government, the other to the Informer, who shall sue for the same in any Court of Record in this Island, wherein no Effoign, &c. shall be allowed.

Of ARRESTS and EXECUTION.

None shall be adjudged Free-holders of known Residence, unless he possess five Acres planted, or a House of 100 *l. per Annum* on his Free-hold, and all others shall be liable to Arrests.

Sugar, Ginger, Anotto, Indico, Cocoa, Cotton, or Pimento, taken upon Writ of *Venditioni expena*, shall be carried to *Port-Royal* at the Defendant's Charge, and there appraised by the Church-warden's upon Oath; which Goods so appraised, shall be by the *Provost Marshal* delivered to the Plaintiff, and by him accepted for so much Money,

The said Church-wardens shall receive from the Defendant 4 *d. per Pound* for what they shall appraise; and if they refuse to appraise, upon Oath, the Goods so taken, he or they so refusing, shall forfeit for every such Refusal 10 *l. half* to the King, and half to the Informer, to be recovered by Bill, Plaint, &c. in any Court, &c.

Of A S S E M B L Y.

In every Assembly hereafter to be called by the King's Writ in this Island, there shall be three Representatives for the Parish of *St. Katharine's*, *Port-Royal*, and *Kingston*, and two for every other Parish in the Island; and the *Provost Marshal* shall give Notice to the Parties electd within ten Days after their Election.

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Every Person elected must be a Free-holder in the Island, and none can vote at an Election, but Free-holders in the same Parish.

Of BUILDING.

None shall build at *Port-Royal*, within thirty Feet of the High-water Mark, excepting the Wherry-place; and such Houses as are already, or shall be built within thirty Feet, shall be taken down and removed within six Months, or otherwise the Proprietors shall build a strong substantial Wharf of thirty Feet broad.

No House shall be built farther Northward on the Harbour than Major *Bach's* and Captain *Swimmer's*.

When any Fire shall happen at *Port-Royal*, or any other Town, two or three of the chief Officers of the same Town or Parish shall order the pulling down or blowing up of such Houses, as they shall judge meet for stopping the Fire; and if the Fire be stopped by such means, the said Houses shall be paid for by those whose Houses in the said Town shall not be burnt; for which a Tax shall be made and levied among them: But if the House where the Fire begins shall be judged fit to be pulled down to prevent the spreading, the Owner of such House shall have no Satisfaction.

Owners of Houses and Lands on the South-side of *Port-Royal*, from *Fort-Rupert* to the House of *Edward Watkins* shall serve their respective Proportions of Land joining on the Sea, and with a substantial Wharf of lasting Timber, under the Penalty of 10 *l.* for every Year's Neglect; One Third to the King, One to the Poor of the Parish, and One Third to the Informer. For their Encouragement to wharf, the Church street shall be added to their Lands and Free-holds proportionably, as they bound upon the same, they leaving a Passage of eighteen Feet open.

None

None shall build nearer to the Church on the South-side, than what is now built.

None shall fetch or dig up any Stones from the Riffs below High-water Mark, from the East and South Parts of the Bays lying off *Port-Royal*, &c. Penalty 18*l.* for every Offence; nor cast out any Ballast in any Harbour or Bay; Penalty 20*l.* for every Offence.

No Wrecks shall be laid up in the Harbour of *Port-Royal*; and if any decayed Vessel sink there, it shall be removed by the Owner within one Month, or he shall forfeit 20*l.* for every Month it lies.

The Fines and Penalties of this Act shall be One Third to the King, One Third to the Churchwardens of the respective Parishes, and One Third to the Informer.

Every Person that shall entertain any Seaman belonging to any trading Ship, in any Harbour of this Island, after Eight at Night, shall forfeit 40*s.* one half to the Poor of the Parish, the other to the Master or Commander of the Ship, to be recovered by a Justice of Peace's Warrant, as other Debts not exceeding 40*l.*

Of CATTLE.

All Plantations bounding on *Savannahs*, Highways, &c. and Pastures made out of Wood-lands, shall be sufficiently fenced in.

If any Damage shall be done by any Stock in any Plantation so fenced, the Damage and the Sufficiency of the Fence shall be determined by the Oath of three Free-holders, and the Owner of the Stock shall pay double the Damage done, to be recovered before any Justice of Peace, if not exceeding 40*s.* if more in any Court of Record.

No Person whatsoever shall kill any Cattle, Horse, Mare, Mule, or Assinego, under the Pen-
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nalty of 15 *l.* to be recovered in any Court of Record, by the Owner or Proprietor of the said Beast.

All Owners of Neat Cattle shall keep one white Man at each Penn, and two white Men at every Penn whereunto belong above two hundred Head of Cattle; Penalty 20 *l.* for every white Man wanting for the Space of three Months, half to the Poor of the Parish, half to the Informer.

All Owners of Cattle shall penn them once in three Nights at least, or pay the Damage double which such Cattle shall do.

Strays shall belong to the Proprietor of the Ground where taken up, provided he cries the Stray three Court-days with proper Descriptions, and turns the same loose in the feeding Grounds, with a With about the Neck for a Year; and if not claimed in that time, the Property shall be his. Ear-mark'd or burnt-mark'd Cattle shall belong to the right Owners, if claimed any time after the Expiration of the Year.

The Clerk of each respective Court of Record in this Island shall make Entry, and toll all Sorts of Cattle that shall be sold from one Person to another, which are to be vouched by two sufficient and known Persons; which Entry and Toll shall be good against all former Sales, or any other Title, except where the *Provost-Marshal* has levied the same in Execution; the Clerk's Fee for Entry, *s.*

No Person whatsoever shall carry Fire, or smoak Tobacco in any *Savannah* Plantation or High-way, under Penalty of 10 *s.* for every Offence to him that shall sue; and further to pay all Damages that may happen; and in case of Inability, to be whipt at the Discretion of any one Justice of Peace; provided Owners of Land may carry Fire in their own Plantation, but liable

ble to satisfy the Damage that may happen to others.

None shall drive or ride in any *Savannah* as a common Horse-catcher, without first giving Security for their Honesty, and obtaining Leave from the Proprietors of the *Savannah*, or the major part of them, under the Penalty of 20 *l.* one Third to the King, one to the Proprietors of the *Savannah*, and the other to him that shall sue.

No common Driver or Horse-catcher shall sell or barter any Horse, Mare, or other Cattle, without bringing two sufficient Evidences to vouch for him before the Clerk of some Court, that he bred, or otherwise came lawfully by them under the Penalty of 50 *l.* to be disposed as before; and the Buyer, without such Vouchment, shall forfeit 20 *l.*

If any Driver or Horse catcher shall fraudulently and designedly put any false Mark, or deface any old Mark, he shall for such Offence be guilty of Felony.

If any Keeper or Owner of Goats shall suffer his Goats to feed upon another Man's Land, the Owner of the Land shall recover his Damage for such Trespass, as the Jury shall give in any Court of Record, and full Costs of Suit in the said Action.

No common Horse-catcher shall ride or drive in any *Savannah*, without giving 100 *l.* Bond, with sufficient Security to the Justices in open Sessions, under Penalty of 10 *l.* for every Offence; and having so done, he shall obtain an Order from the Justices then sitting, to ride and drive, &c.

No such common Horse-catcher shall mark any Cattle, without giving Notice in the Parish-church the *Sabbath-day* before, under Penalty of 20 *l.*

Of CHARITABLE USES.

All Gifts, Grants, Conveyances and Devises of Lands, Tenements, Rents, Goods and Chattels, to any pious, charitable or publick Use, as for Maintenance of several Ministers, erecting of Churches, Chapels, Schools, Colleges, Alms-houses or Hospitals, or their Maintenance, already made, or to be made within the Space of twenty Years next ensuing, are hereby confirmed and made good, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the Donors or Devisers (excepting out of this Act superstitious Uses, or for the Maintenance of any Teacher not lawfully ordained or allowed by the Church of England)

Of CHURCHWARDENS and PARISHES.

All Goods in Casks landed upon, or shipped from the Bridge at *Passage-Fort*, shall pay 1*s.* per Ton, and so proportionally.

The Church wardens of *St. Katharine's* shall take care that the said Bridge be kept in sufficient Repair, under Penalty of 10 *l.* Half to the Informer, and half to the Poor of the Parish.

The said Church-wardens shall appoint Collectors of the said Duty, and employ the same to the Use and Behoof of the said Parish of *St. Katharine's*.

If any refuse to pay the said Duty, the Collector may detain in his Possession the Goods of the Persons refusing, till Satisfaction.

The Minister of each Parish shall be one of the Vestry, and no Order shall be good, if timely Notice were not first given to him to be there.

The High ways from the Ford of *Rio Core* to Major *Needham's* Walk, shall be maintained by the Inhabitants of *St. Thomas in the Vale*.

A Line

A Line from the Head of *Swift River* to the South Bounds of *St. Anne's*, shall be the Easterly and Westerly Bounds of the Parishes of *St. Elizabeth* and *Clarendon*.

The Place called and known by the Name of *Kingston*, in the Parish of *St. Andrew's*, on the Harbour of *Port-Royal*, bounded South by the Harbour, West and North by the Lands of *Sir William Beeston*, and continued from a *Callabash* on the Northern Corner, by a strait Line to the Foot of the long Mountain, and from thence till it meet with the Bounds of the Parish of *Port-Royal*, shall be for ever hereafter esteemed, to all Intents and Purposes, an intire and distinct Parish, separate from the Parish of *St. Andrew's*, and called the Town and Parish of *Kingston*.

And shall enjoy all Benefits, Privileges, Rights and Immunities, that any Parish or Precinct within this Island has, or ought to have; and particularly, that there shall be chosen Three Representatives to serve in every Assembly, after the first Prorogation of this present Assembly, for the said Town and Parish of *Kingston*.

Also there shall be erected, established, and held in the said Town, a Quarter-Session for the Peace, and a Court of Common-pleas, with the same Power as was lately exercised at *Port-Royal*; which Court shall be held once every Two Months, and the Sessions every Three Months.

The Receiver-General, Secretary, and Naval Officer, shall by themselves, or Deputies, keep in the Town of *Kingston* their several Offices, as heretofore in *Port-Royal*, on Penalty of 50 *l.* each, for every Month's Neglect, Half to the King, Half to the Informer, to be recovered in the supreme Court, wherein no Essoign, &c.

Of COURTS and PROCEEDINGS at LAW.

The Judges of the supreme Court of Judicature shall have Cognizance of all Pleas, civil, criminal, and mixed, as fully as the King's-Bench, Common-Pleas, and Exchequer have in *England*; and the same Court shall be constantly kept at *St. Jago de la Vega*, and not elsewhere, once every Three Months, of which there shall be Five Judges, Three of the *Quorum*.

The several inferior Courts of Common-Pleas in this Island, shall have Jurisdiction, where Free-hold is not concerned, to the Value of 20 *l.* and no more; and shall be kept once every three Months, provided the Judges of the Court at *Port-Royal* may keep the same once every Two Months; and the Chancellor here may appoint Justices in any inferior Courts.

None shall execute the Office of a Judge in any of the foresaid Courts, till he has taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy in open Court: and no Judge shall receive any Profit, Benefit or Advantage; but what is allowed them by the Acts of this Island, under the Penalty of 500 *l.*

The Judges of the several Courts shall order and establish Rules and Orders, for the regular Practice in their Courts, as fully, to all Intents, as the Judges in the several Courts in *England* legally do.

No Counsellor or Attorney shall be admitted to practise in any of the said Courts, till he hath taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, &c. under Penalty of 20 *l.* And whatsoever Counsellors or Attornies shall, by Negligence or Ignorance, mistake his Client's Cause, shall suffer a Non-suit; he or they, so offending, shall by Rule of Court, without any further Process, pay the Party aggrieved full Costs of Suit.

The

The Judges may at all times upon Motion in Court, order Amendments in matter of Form only; and shall not, upon a Writ of Error or Motion in Arrest, reverse any Judgment for matter of Form only.

No Action of *Waste* shall be brought in any Court of this Island, nor any Free-holder of known Residence arrested by any Process out of the said Courts; Penalty 20 *l.* to be paid by the Plaintiff to the Party so arrested; and all Proceedings thereupon shall be void.

No Suit shall be in the Supreme Court of Judicature for any Matter or Cause, under the Value of 20 *l.* upon the Penalty of 20 *l.* to be paid by the Plaintiff; but such Causes shall be tried in the inferior Courts; provided, the Inhabitants of *St. Katharine's*, *St. Dorothy's*, *St. Thomas in the Vale's*, and *St. John's*, may sue in the supreme Court for any Sum, till they shall have petty Courts erected in their own Parishes.

In all inferior Courts, upon Summons, and the Defendant doth not appear, Judgment shall go by Default, as in the supreme Court, the *Provest-Marshal* making Oath in open Court, that the Party was legally summoned Fourteen Days before.

Upon a Declarator exhibited in Debt, upon Speciality, or a *Confessit solvere*, and disclosing the special Matter to the chief Judge of the supreme Court, that the Debtor is either gone off the Island, or a *Non est inventus* returned, an Attachment shall issue against the Goods and Chattles, &c. of the Debtor, in whose Hands soever; and upon Conviction, and the Plaintiff swearing the Debt due, and no Part paid, and giving Security to restore the same with triple Damages, if disproved, he shall have Judgment to recover his Debt out of the said Goods, Chattles, Monies, &c. but if any Attorney appear, and put in Bail, the Attachment shall be dissolved; if the Parties
in

in whose Hands the Goods, &c. are attached, shall part with the same before the Attachment be satisfied or dissolved, they shall make Satisfaction to the Plaintiff out of their own proper Estates.

All Debts not exceeding 40s. where the Debtor is gone off, *ut supra*, shall be recoverable by any one Justice of Peace, by Attachment, in the same Manner and Form as above-said.

All Summons from any Court shall be delivered to the Party, or left at his Dwelling-house, Fourteen Days before the several Courts, by a sworn Marshal, except at *Port-Royal*: and there it shall be delivered Ten Days before the Court, otherwise the Defendant not bound to compear.

Replevins, Foreign Attachments at the supreme Court, and Warrants of Arrest, may be served at any time.

No Execution shall be taken out, or executed, till Twenty-eight Days after Judgment, except at *Port-Royal*; and there Execution shall issue Ten Days after Judgment. No Negroes Houses, nor any manner of Utenfils belonging to a Plantation and Work, shall be taken in Execution, where the Defendant shall offer other Goods to satisfy the Debts and Costs.

The Defendant shall have Liberty to carry his Goods, taken in Execution, to Market, and there sell them, first acquainting the Marshal who took them upon the Execution, that so he may receive the Produce thereof; if the Defendant neglect to sell them, till Ten Days before the next Court; the Marshal shall take the Goods, and sell them by publick Outcry.

If Negroes Houses and Utenfils be taken in Execution, for want of other Goods, they shall not be removed, till a *Venditioni exponas* issue, empowering the *Prouest-Marshal* to sell them, or in case they be made away, to levy and sell any other Goods, or in Default of Goods, to take the Defendant's Body, &c.,

After.

After the Goods shall be sold by publick Outcry, the Money shall be paid to the Plaintiff, or his Order, within Ten Days, under the Penalty of half the Debt, to be received by the Plaintiff to his own Use.

The Marshal shall not take in Execution Negroes, or Utenfils, *ut supra*, if the Defendant shews him any Stock or Cattle, in a Penn, which may be sold by publick Outcry, as aforesaid.

All Accidents that happen, while Goods taken in Execution remain in the Defendant's Possession, shall be borne and made good by the Defendant.

Where the Body of the Defendant shall be taken in Execution; yet, if any Effects afterwards appear, the Plaintiff may take out another Execution, and levy his Debt upon the same.

Where Prisoners in Execution have nothing to maintain themselves, upon Oath thereof, before Two neighbouring Justices of Peace, and Notice to all their Creditors Ten Days before the supreme Court, they shall be publickly let to Hire at the said Court; and the Monies rising from the Hire shall be paid to such Persons as the Court shall appoint, to be equally divided among the Creditors. If any Creditor shall refuse to consent, that the Prisoner shall be set to Hire, such Creditor shall pay the Prisoner 3 s. 6 d. weekly.

If the Prisoner so let to Hire shall, at any time after, come to have an Estate, having not satisfied his Debts, another Execution upon the former Judgment shall be taken out against his Goods and Chattles (*vide infra*, Prisoners).

If the Provost-Marshal or Deputy shall do otherwise than as above directed, or ask or receive any Mile-money, for executing a *Venditioni exponas*. he shall forfeit 100 L. for every such Offence, half to the King, half to the Party grieved.

Other Fines mentioned in this Act, and not expressly disposed of, shall be half to the King, half

half to the Informer, to be recovered in any Court of Record in this Island.

Of DEBTS:

A Creditor may stop Arrest, and detain in Prison by due Process of Law, any Debtor that attempts to depart this Island, when the Martial Law is in Force, and the Common Law suspended, (*vide Militia*) till he shall pay or satisfy the Debt; and in case of such going off or Departure, a foreign Attachment may issue against his Goods or Chattels, as in time of the Common Law; any thing in any former Act seeming to the contrary notwithstanding.

Of FEES.

The several Fees due in the Secretary's Office, and in the supreme Court; the Provost-Marshal's Fees; the Fees of inferior Courts and their Marshals, of the Clerk of the Peace and Coroners; the Fees of the Great Seal, of the Surveyors and Lawyers, the Fees of the Naval Force, and of the Clerk of the Market, are all ascertained and set down; for which see the Act at large.

No Still-yards shall be used for weighing in any Market or Huckster's Shop, under the Penalty of 20 s. for each Time, half to the Poor of the Parish, half to the Informer.

No Butcher or Turtler shall sell any Meat or Turtle by Retail, but in open Market, under Penalty of 40 s. to the Poor of the Parish, recoverable before any Justice of the Peace.

What Officer soever shall demand or take any greater Fees than are allowed by this Act, and be thereof duly convicted, he shall forfeit 100 l. half to the King, and half to the Informer.

If any Counsellor, Lawyer or Attorney, ask or receive greater Fees than are established by this Act, and thereof be convicted, he shall forfeit 10 l.

to the Party grieved, and be incapable of practising any more in this Island;

Of HIGHWAYS.

The Vestry of each Parish shall upon every third Monday in January, chuse four or more Freeholders, each having thirty Acres of Freehold, to be Surveyors for the Year ensuing; and each Vestry-man neglecting, shall forfeit 40 s. In Default of the Vestry, the Justices shall appoint.

Which Surveyors, so chosen as appointed, shall within ten Days procure themselves to be sworn before a Justice, for the faithful and diligent Performance of the Office upon the Penalty of 20 l. Sterling.

The said Surveyors, having viewed the Defects in the High-ways and Bridges, shall within sixteen Days, inform the Justices and Vestry thereof, who shall order a Tax for the Amendment by the last of February; or else the Surveyors shall make such Tax in Writing to be confirmed by two Justices, &c.

The High-ways shall be sixty Feet wide, in standing Wood forty, where the Wood is only on one Side, and twenty four in open Ground.

Where a new Path or Road is wanting, or old Ways may with more Conveniency be turned or altered, any Justice of Peace shall on Request, issue his Warrant to the next Constable to summon a Jury, who shall view, lay out, or alter such Paths or Roads with most Conveniency, upon their Oaths; which shall be filed and recorded at the next Quarter-Sessions of that Parish, under the Hands of the Surveyor and Jury. And the Surveyor that neglects his Duty herein, shall forfeit 20 l.

All Acts and Doings, touching the Ways, are

to be recorded in the Vestry-book ; which Record all Places shall be deemed good Evidence.

Surveyors may issue their Warrants to the Constable or Tything-man, to warn in Workers, or to levy Money according to the Tax or Rate aforesaid. And whoever fails to send in his Proportion of Workers, shall pay 3 s. per Day, upon Conviction of his Default.

Every Justice neglecting his Duty in the Premises shall forfeit 10 l. Every Vestry-man Surveyor, Constable, Juror, and Clerk of the Vestry, (where no Penalty is before set) 5 l. for each Offence. Which Forfeitures shall be to the Use of the High-ways, to be recovered in any Court of Record, &c.

Such Paths or Roads as have been used for seven Years past to publick and known Springs, Rivers, and Watering-places, shall be laid out and returned to the Sessions, and there filed down and recorded in such manner as is set down above. And where new Fences on both Sides of the Path shall be needful, they shall be made and maintained by the Precinct.

The Path or Road now used from the *Orange-River* Plantation in the Parish of *St. Mary's*, unto the Plantation late of *Andrew Holloway* at *Wagwater*, and so into the Parish of *St. Andrew's*, shall be a publick Road, or King's High-way, between the two Parishes of *St. Mary's*, and *St. Andrew's*.

The Path or Road from *Annotta-River-Bay*, in the Parish of *St. George's* leading towards *St. Andrew's*, shall, by its nearest Course, fall into the Path coming from the said *Orange-River* ; and the same shall be a publick Road, or the King's High-way between the Parishes of *St. George's* and *St. Andrew's*.

The Surveyors of the Highways for the Parish of *St. Mary's* shall, as oft as need shall require, clear and mend the Road from the *Orange-River*

River to the Ford at the Foot of the Hill at Little Tom's River. And the Parish of St. George shall clear their Road from Annotta-Bay unto the said Place. And the Parish of St. Andrew's shall clear the said Ford and Road leading from thence unto the said Holloway's Plantation at Wagwater, and so forward into the Parish of St. Andrew's.

The respective Surveyors of the High-ways of St. Mary's, St. George's, and St. Andrew's, shall be subject to the like Pains and Penalties for their Neglect; and in the same manner to be recovered and applied, as is appointed in the Acts for High-ways.

Where it shall at any time be found necessary, that the said Paths, or any of them be turned or altered, it shall be done in such manner as, in the said Act for the High-ways, is appointed.

Church-wardens and Surveyors of the High-ways shall proceed in the Discharge of their Duties, and the Justices and Vestries in the respective Parishes and Precincts, as well when Martial Law is in Force, as at any other time, and under the like Penalties for Neglect.

This Act to continue in Force during the present War with France, and no longer.

HUNTING.

None shall hunt any Gang of Dogs within four Miles of any Crawl or Settlement, except on his own Land, or Leave from the Proprietor; Penalty 10 l.

None shall set any Snare or Engine in any Place whatsoever, except his own planted Ground, under Penalty of 40 s. for every time he so offends, and to pay all Damages that may happen.

JUSTICES of PEACE.

All Debts, Trespasses, and other Matters not exceeding 40 s. (where the Titles of Lands are not concerned) shall be heard and determined, without Appeal, by any Justice of Peace of this Island; who, upon Complaint made, shall grant a Warrant or Summons; and in case of Non-appearance, shall issue out a Warrant of Contempt to the Constable, to bring the Contemner before him; and may, if he see Cause, fine the Contemner, not above 10 s. for the Use of the Parish.

After Judgment given, the Justice may grant a Warrant of Distress directed to the Constable, to levy the Fine, Debt, Damages and Charges upon the Defendant's Goods, exposing the same to Sale, and returning the Overplus, if any be; and for want of Distress, to take the Defendant's Body in Execution.

The Justice may receive for each Warrant 1 s. 3 d. and no more. The Constable, as much, with 6 d. for each Mile he travels, provided the Whole exceeds not 5 s.

The Justice shall keep a Record of all such Proceedings, under the Penalty of 10 s. half to the Poor, and half to the Informer.

LAWS and LAW-SUITS.

In all Writs of Escheat hereafter to be granted, the Provost-Martial shall inquire, by a Jury, the true Value of an Estate, which any Person dying without Heirs, was seized of; and after Office found, and returned into the supreme Court, and Judgment thereupon given and recorded, the Governor, or Commander in chief, may grant the said escheated Estate under the Broad-Seal of this Island.

Provided

Provided that a Clause be in the said Grant inserted, That if a right Heir appears, and claims within three Years, the Grant to be void. And the Value of the said Estate shall be secured to be paid into the Treasury by the Grantee at the End of three Years, in case no Heir claims in that Time: and in case there be an Heir, then to be paid out of the Treasury to such Heir.

All Bills of Sale and Conveyances, made by Husband and Wife, and acknowledged before the Judge of any Court of Record in this Island, and recorded, shall be good and valid against the Claims of all Persons whatsoever, as if past by Fine and Recovery at *Westminster*.

Where any Improvement is made upon such escheated Lands, as above-said, by the Patentee during the three Years, the Heir, before his entering on the same, shall satisfy the Patentee his Charges and Interest, for the same.

All original Acts already made, or to be made, shall be lodged in the Secretary's Office of Inrolments at *St. Jago de la Vega*; and the Secretary shall shew them to those who have Occasion to view the same, and give Copies of them, or any Clause in any of them; for which he shall be allowed 8 *d.* per Sheet, sixteen Lines to a Sheet, and fourteen Words to a Line. And he shall be allowed for comparing and examining any Copy, containing the whole Body of the Laws, 40 *s.*

The Secretary, or his lawful Deputy in his stead, shall give Bond with good Security of 4000 *l.* Penalty, with Condition, *That he shall well and faithfully execute the Office of Secretary, and Clerk of the Inrolments of this Island of Jamaica, and also faithfully keep and preserve in his said Office all and every the Acts of this Island, &c. and in all things else comply with the Duty of the said Office, according to the Trust reposed in him, and according to the Laws of this Island.*

M I L I T I A.

No Person from Fifteen to Sixty Years of Age, shall remain unlisted, in Foot or Horse, for the Space of Six Weeks, under Penalty of 40 s.

Every Foot-Soldier shall be provided with a well-fixed Musket or Fuzee, or a good Pike and Sword, or Lance and Pistol. Each Musketeer shall have, when he appears, six Charges of Powder, and one Cartouch-Box; Penalty for not appearing, 10 s. and for want of any due Accoutrements, 4 s.

Every Horse-Soldier shall be provided with a good Horse of 10 l. Value at least, with good Furniture, Pistols, Sword, and half a Pound of Powder; Penalty 6 s. for want of any due Accoutrements, and 10 s. for each time of Absence.

Every Foot-Soldier shall have, at his Habitation, two Pounds of good Powder, and Six Pounds of Bullet; and every Trooper at his place of Abode, a well-fixed Carbine, four Pounds of fine Powder, and twelve Pounds of sizeable Bullets; Penalty 10 s. for each Default.

A commissioned Officer shall not be compellable to list himself, by this Act, in any Company or Troop, or serve in any Capacity beneath his former Commission, unless such Person hath been degraded by a Court-Martial.

No Person listed shall depart without his Captain's Licence, on Penalty of 40 s. No Commander of a Company or Troop shall refuse to give a Discharge in Writing to any that is removing his Abode out of the Precincts, under Penalty of 5 l.

Any Person wounded or disabled in publick military Service, shall be cured and maintained out of the publick Revenue.

Upon Apprehension and Appearance of publick Danger or Invasion, the Commander in chief shall

shall put the Martial Law in Execution, and command all things for publick Defence, with full Power and Authority, by Advice and Consent of a Council of War. But upon lodging the Colours, and discharging the Soldiers from their Arms, the Martial Law shall cease, and the Common Law revive.

The Marshal or Deputy shall not presume to arrest a Soldier within one Month after his Discharge, nor in his going or coming from the Place of Exercise; Penalty 10 *l.* &c.

All Damages sustained by any Person or Persons by an Invasion or drawing together the Forces of this Island, shall upon Application to the Governor and Council, be reasonably valued, and forthwith paid out of the publick Revenue, which if deficient, shall be supplied by an Assembly.

No Boat or Canoe shall pass the Fort at *Port-Royal*, without giving Notice to the Captain there, under the Penalty of 20 *s.* And if the Captain hath reasonable Cause of Suspicion, he may stop the said Boat, &c.

No Person whatsoever shall fire any small Arms after Eight at Night, unless upon Alarm or Insurrection, which is to be by the Discharge of four Muskets or small Arms, distinctly. Offenders herein shall be punished at the Discretion of a Court-Martial, not extending to Life or Limb.

The Justices and Vestry, or major Part of them, in all Parishes of this Island, adjacent to the Sea, shall raise, or cause to be levied, such Sums of Money, as shall seem necessary for maintaining Night-watches, Guards, and Look-outs, in such Places as shall seem most proper for serving the Inhabitants, and discovering and preventing the Approach of the Enemy.

MINISTERS.

Any two Justices in every Parish shall cause the Freeholders of such Parish to meet yearly on the second *Tuesday* in *January*, to chuse ten Vestry-men and two Church-wardens, Conformists to the Church of *England*.

If the Freeholders do not appear, or do not chuse, as aforesaid, the Justices may, within ten Days after the Time above-mentioned, lay a reasonable Tax on the Parish, for Maintenance of the Minister and Poor, and for erecting and repairing Churches, and making convenient Seats in them. Such as neglect their Duty herein, shall forfeit 5 *l*.

Ministers shall demand no Fee for Christnings, Marriages, Churchings, or Burials, but such as shall be allowed by the Justices and Vestry-men, under the Penalty of 5 *l*. half to the Poor, half to him that shall sue for the same.

The Church-wardens of every Parish shall provide one fair bound Book, wherein the Minister shall register the Births, Christnings, Marriages, and Burials of all Persons born, &c. in the said Parish, under Penalty of 5 *l*. for every Default, and the Person registering shall receive as Fee 15 *d*. and no more. Which Entries duly made, shall be taken and deemed as an authentick Record. And to falsify, raze, or imbezil such Entries, or Books of Entry, shall be punished, as the Laws of *England* provide against stealing, razing, or imbeziling Records.

The Parish of *Port Royal* shall pay to the Minister thereof, 250 *l*. per Annum; *St. Katherine's*, 300 *l*. per Annum; *St. Thomas's*, *St. Andrew's* and *St. John's*, each 200 *l*. per Annum; and all the other Parishes in this Island, each 150 *l*. per Annum, to their respective Ministers, as a constant

stant yearly Salary, to be paid at their Dwelling-houses every six Months, without any Defalcation, by equal Portions. But none shall be capable to be presented to the said Benefices, and receive the Profits of the same, unless qualified according to the Canons of the Church of *England*, and in Deacon and Priest's Orders.

No Minister, not duly qualified as aforesaid, shall presume to marry any Persons, under the Penalty of 100 *£*: one third to the King, one to the Poor of the Parish, and the other third to him that shall sue for the same. And no Minister shall marry any Persons, whose Banns have not been thrice published in the Parish-church, or have a Licence from the Governor, under the like Penalty, and to the same Uses as aforesaid, or twelve Months Imprisonment.

No ecclesiastical Law or Jurisdiction shall have Power to enforce or establish any penal Mulct or Punishment, in any Case whatsoever.

MONEY.

To falsify, diminish, wash clip, file or coin any of the Monies current in this Island, shall be High-Treason.

No Person whatsoever shall directly or indirectly take for the Loan of any Monies above the Value of 10 *£* for the Forbearance of 100 *£*. for one Year, and so proportionably.

All Bonds, Contracts and Assurances, for the payment of Monies lent, whereby there shall be received above the Rates of 10 *per Cent.* as aforesaid, shall be void. And whosoever shall take more, shall forfeit treble the Value of the Money lent, one Moiety to the King, the other to him that shall sue for the same.

No Gold or Silver-smith shall work, sell, or change any Wares of Gold less fine than twenty two Carrats, nor Wares of Silver less in Fineness than

than eleven Ounces Two-penny Weight; nor without his own Mark, upon pain of forfeiting the Value of the Thing so sold or exchanged, for not marking; and treble the Value for selling or exchanging any Gold or Silver Wares, of less Fineness than aforesaid: one half to the King, the other to the Party grieved. Whosoever shall offend the second Time, shall upon Conviction, stand one Hour in the Pillory, and lose his Ears.

NATURALIZATION.

The Governor or Commander in chief, by Instrument under the Broad-Seal of this Island, may make any Alien or Foreigner, settling and planting here, to be fully and completely naturalized such Alien or Aliens first taking the Oath of Allegiance; and such Person so naturalized, shall enjoy the Immunities and Priviledges of this Island in as ample manner as any natural-born Subject.

The Governor or Commander in chief shall receive for the same 5 *l.* and his Clerk for writing 10 *s.* and no more; and no other Person any Fee on any pretence whatsoever.

Aliens who have formerly purchased here, and sold again, or else their Estates escheated and granted, the Purchases, &c. are confirmed in the Possession to their Heirs and Assigns for ever.

PLANTATIONS; *vid.* CATTLE.

PORT-ROYAL.

The Justices and Vestry of the Parish of *Port-Royal*, or the major Part of them, may tax and levy such Sums of Money upon all and every the Freeholders of that Parish, as to them shall seem meet and convenient, for the wharfing and securing the Town of *Port-Royal* towards the great Sea-side. If

If any of the Free-holders of *Port-Royal* happen to be not Residents or Inhabitants on the Place, an Action of Debt shall lie in any Court of Record, or before a Justice of Peace, for the Church-wardens, against any of the said Persons assessed by virtue of this Act, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, Assigns, Agents, or Attornies, for all such Sums of Money so assessed; and the Assessment so produced, shall be a sufficient Evidence for the Recovery of the said Sums.

The Receiver-General, and Naval Officer, themselves or Deputies, shall keep their Offices in *Port-Royal* as formerly: So also the Secretary of this Island, under the Penalty of 50 *l.* for every Month that any of them shall neglect so to do.

PRISONERS.

No Prisoner shall have the Benefit of the Act that provides, *That poor Prisoners may be let to publick Hire*, until he or she have first delivered into Court a perfect List of all his or her Debts, Goods, and Monies in this Island, and assign the same to the Provost-Marshal for the Use of the Creditors; and also make Oath, *That he or she hath delivered in a true and perfect List, and hath not made over, concealed, or any ways secured any Goods, &c. excepting 5 l. for necessary Subsistence.*

The Goods, Debts and Monies, so assigned, and delivered to the Provost-Marshal, shall be by him accounted for, and paid to the Creditors, to be equally divided among them, as by the fore-mentioned Act directed.

PYRATES.

Felony for any Person belonging to this Island, to serve in *America*, in an hostile manner, against any foreign

foreign Prince, State, or Potentate, in Amity with the King of *Great-Britain*, without Special Licence under the Hand and Seal of the Governor; and every such Offender, being thereof convicted in the supreme Court of Judicature, shall suffer Death without the Benefit of Clergy.

All Treasons, Felonies, Pyracies, Robberies, Murders or Confederacies committed upon the Sea, or in any Haven or Bay, where the Admiral hath Jurisdiction, shall be inquired, tried, and adjudged, within this Island, as if such Offence had been committed upon the Land; and to that End, Commissions shall be, under the Great Seal of this Island, directed to the Judge of the Admiralty for the Time being, and such other Persons as by the Governor shall be named and appointed, who shall have full Power to do all things about the inquiring, hearing, adjudging, and punishing any the Crimes aforesaid, as any Commissioners under the Great Seal of *England*, appointed by Stat. 28. H. VIII. are impowered to do in *England*.

All Persons who shall knowingly entertain, conceal, trade, or correspond with any Person that shall be deemed Privateer, Pyrate, or other Offender within this Act, and shall not readily endeavour to apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, such Offender, may be prosecuted as Accessaries and Confederates.

All Commission-Officers, in their several Precincts, shall, upon Notice given that Privateers, Pyrates, &c. are within their Precincts, raise such Number of Men as needful, seize, and carry them to the Goat; and, in case of Resistance, they may kill and destroy such Person or Persons; and all such as assist, by striking or firing upon any of the commanded Pary, shall be adjudged Felons without Benefit of Clergy.

QUIT-RENTS.

A Patent under the Great Seal of this Island, and recorded in the Office of Inrolments, shall evidence the Patentee's just Right and Title to all Lands and Houses, &c. in the said Patent granted, and be a good Bar to the King, &c.

The Keeper of the Seal, or Chancellor, shall, the next *Tuesday* before each Grand Court, cause all such Grants and Patents as are in Office, to be sealed at *St. Jago de la Vega*. And all inferior Officers concerned, are then and there to attend.

All Lands granted, or to be granted, by the King, upon Surveys made, shall be good to the Patentee and Assigns, for all Lands within the Survey, any Misnomer, Misbouding, Mistaking of the Quantity or other Error notwithstanding; and all such Grants shall be taken as strongly against his Majesty, as the Grants of any other Person should or ought to be.

If a Plot of a Survey being given into the Patent-Office, varies from the run and marked Lines, those Lines shall be adjudged the true Bounds of the Lands granted.

Land granted before the 25th of *June* 1671. shall, for Arrears and growing Rents, pay for every 30 Acres, 1 s. yearly, and so proportionably for every Parcel, under 100 Acres, and for every 100 Acres 2 s. 6 d. and proportionably for a greater Quantity; and for all Lands from the foresaid Time to the 12th of *March* 1674. One Halfpenny per Acre; and for Foot-land, One Halfpenny per Foot-square, as a certain established Quit-rent, and Acknowledgment to his Majesty, for ever.

The Receiver of the said Quit-rents, shall yearly, at the Feast of *St. Michael*, and *Lady-day*, keep his Office in the Town of *St. Jago de la Vega*, and
Port-

Port-Royal, One Month in each Place, from the Hours of Eight to Eleven in the Forenoon, and Two to Five in the Afternoon; then and there to receive the said Quit-rents from the Persons concerned, and thereof to acquit and discharge them, on the Penalty of 5 *l.* One Half to the King, the other to the Informer.

RATES and PRIZES.

If any Person shall refuse to sell Beef, Mutton, or Goat, by Weight, he shall forfeit 20 *l.*

Whoever shall destroy any Turtle-nests, or take away any of the Eggs thereof, he shall forfeit 40 *s.* or receive as many Lashes on the bare Back as any Justice shall order, not exceeding Thirty-nine, for every Offence; One Third of the Money to the King, One to the Church-wardens of the Parish, and the other Third-part to the Informer, to be recovered in any Court of Record, &c.

All Vintners and Retailers of *Madera* Wines or Brandy, that shall receive above 15 *d.* the Quart for *Madera* Wine, and 2 *s.* 6 *d.* the Quart for Brandy, and so proportionably, shall forfeit 40 *s.* for every Offence, to be levied by Warrant of any Justice of Peace where the Fault is committed, half to the Church-wardens, half to the Informer.

Lamb shall be brought into the Market with the Head on, and shewn before cut up, with the usual Signs of Distinction, that small Mutton may not be sold for Lamb.

No Person whatsoever shall sell Turtle, or any of the foresaid Meats, by Retail, but in open Market, where they shall not refuse to sell the same by Weight, to any Person bringing ready Money, without imposing upon the Buyer, &c.

The Place appointed by the Justices in Sessions, for the selling the Sorts of Meats in this Act mentioned, shall be deemed the publick Market-place, and

and the Market shall be adjudged open, upon ringing the Bell; which, on *Saturdays*, shall be at Three in the Afternoon: on all other Days, except *Sunday*, at Five in the Morning.

REGISTER.

A Deed made in due Form of Law, and within Three Months acknowledged, or proved by Oath before the Governor, or one of the Judges of this Island, and the same recorded in the Office of Inrolments, at *St. Jago de la Vega*, within the said Three Months, shall be valid, and pass the Estate without Livery, Seisin, Attornment, or any other Ceremony in the Law: and no Deed not so inrolled, shall pass any Estate for above Three Years.

Provided, all Deeds or Conveyances heretofore made of Lands or Houses, and omitted to be recorded, upon being acknowledged, or proved and recorded, in the Office of Inrolments, shall be effectual and of Force.

If a second Sale or Conveyance of the same Land be made by the said Vendor, and executed and recorded before the first, the last Vendee (if the Sale were for a valuable Consideration) shall enjoy the Land; and if any Vendee hath omitted to execute and inrol his Deed, within the due Time, but shall at any time after have done the same, no second Sale being made by the Vendor, the same shall nevertheless be good to the Vendee, and a perpetual Bar to the Vendor.

All Deeds and Coveyances made out of this Island, and remitted hither, and proved before the Governor, or a Judge, as aforesaid; and all Deeds personally acknowledged before the Lord Mayor of *London*, and Court of Aldermen, and an Attestation thereof under the Seal of the City, and re-

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corded here in the foresaid Office, within Six Months after the Arrival of the Ship that brought the same, shall to all Intents and Purposes be good and valid. Provided, if any Person here, lawfully impowered, shall, in pursuance of that Power, make Sale of any Lands, &c. to any Person within this Island, and the Deeds duly proved and recorded, before any Conveyance from the Proprietor be here produced, proved or recorded; the Deed so made and passed here, shall stand good and effectual.

The Mortgagee having received the Money lent, shall, at the Request of the Mortgager, enter Satisfaction on the Margin of the Mortgage, recorded in the Office of Inrolments, which shall be a perpetual Discharge and Release of the same; and if such Mortgage shall not within Three Months, after Request and Tender of his reasonable Charges, make Acknowledgment of Satisfaction, as aforesaid, he shall forfeit and pay to the Party grieved 50 *l.* to be recovered in any Court of Record, &c.

The Judge before whom such Deeds or other Writings shall be made, may receive for every Deed of the Value of 20 *l.* or more, 10 *s.* if under the Value, 5 *s.* and no more; Penalty 20 *l.* half to the King, half to the Informer.

The Clerk of the Inrolment may receive for inrolling and copying an ordinary Deed, or Patent, &c. 5 *s.* if longer than a Patent, 8 *d.* per Sheet, twenty Lines to a Sheet, and eight Words to a Line; for every short Writing, 1 *s.* for recording every Plot, 1 *s.* 3 *d.* for entering Satisfaction in the Margin of a Mortgage recorded, 1 *s.* 3 *d.* and no more; Penalty 10 *l.* to the Uses aforesaid.

All Patents already granted shall be inrolled within six Months, and all hereafter granted shall be inrolled within six Months after the Sealing.

All

All Leases heretofore made, or to be made, of any Orphan's Estate, by his Guardian, during the Orphan's Minority, and no longer, shall be good and valid in Law.

Provided, this Act shall not abridge the Power given by the Parent to any Guardian, nor to empower any Guardian to lease the Estate of an Heiress longer, than till she complete the Age of fourteen Years.

The Clerk of the Inrolments, or whoever executes that Office, shall find Two Sureties, who with himself shall be bound to the King in the Penalty of 2000 *l.* for the true and faithful Execution of that Office, and for the keeping the same in the Town of *St. Jago de la Vega*; which Bond shall be recorded in the supreme Court of Judicature, and kept by the Chief Justice of the same. And whosoever, after Publication of this Act, shall officiate in the said Office, without giving such Security, as aforesaid, he shall forfeit 500 *l.* to be recovered in any Court of Record; one Moiety to the King, the other to the Prosecutor.

SEAMEN, &c.

All Persons that have committed Piracy, or Robbery by Sea, (and not Murder or Treason) that shall come hither, and submit themselves, within Ten Days after their Arrival, and give Security for their future good Behaviour, shall, by virtue of this Act, receive from the Commander in Chief, his Majesty's gracious Pardon under the Great Seal of this Island; for which Pardon, the Parties to whom it is extended shall pay the Sum of 40 *s.* and no more, as a Fee to such Officer as shall be appointed to receive the same.

The Attorney-General, or any other Officer whatsoever, who shall, directly or indirectly, exact any Sum of Money of any Person to whom such Act of Mercy is extended, shall forfeit the Sum of

100*l.* half to his Majesty and half to the Party injured, to be recovered in any Court of Record, &c. where no *Essoign*, *non Prof.* &c. shall be allowed

This free Pardon shall be as good and effectual in Law to the Persons before-mentioned, as if the Offences had been specified, and pardoned, by proper and express Words and Names, and shall be as largely and beneficially understood as may be for the Advantage of the Parties intended to be pardoned.

All Persons that shall come and reside here, and claim the Benefit of this Act, and be employed in the Service of this Country in the Privateering Trade, or otherwise, shall be protected and excused from the Payment of their Debts contracted before their coming hither, or their going off from hence, for Five Years; during which Time, all Actions, Arrests, Procefs, Suits, Judgments, Executions, and all Prosecutions whatsoever against them shall be suspended, and respited during the said Time, and no longer; but after the Expiration of the said Five Years, the said Persons shall not plead the Statute of Limitations.

If any Suit or Action hereby suspended, shall be commenced or prosecuted, every Person so sued, may plead the General Issue, and give this Act and the Special Matter in Evidence; and if the Plaintiff shall be Non-suited, discontinued, or a Verdict pass against him, the said Plaintiff shall for ever forfeit and lose his original Debt so sued for, and besides, pay the Debt, double Costs and Charges.

Provided, no Person shall take any Benefit or Advantage by this Act, who shall not within Twenty Days after his Arrival, cause his Name to be entered in the Office of Inrolments for this Island, and claim and demand the Benefit of the same; which Entry and Claim shall be as effectual, as if the said Person had been herein expressly named; and

an attested Copy of the said Entry and Claim shall be pleaded in any Court, and of as much Authority and Force in the Law as this present Act, or a Special Pardon under the Broad Seal.

The Secretary or Clerk of the Inrolments shall not refuse to make such Entry and Claim as aforesaid, and give an attested Copy thereof, or take more than 15 *d.* for such Entry, and the Copy thereof, under the Penalty of 10*l.* to him who shall sue for the same.

SERVANTS.

Every Master of Slaves, for the first Five working Slaves shall be obliged to keep One white Man-servant, Overseer, or hired Man, for Three Months at least; and for Ten Slaves, Two Whites; and for every Ten more, One; to be resident in the Plantation where the Negroes are employed, on Penalty of 5 *l.* for every Servant wanting of the Proportion aforesaid, to the Use of the Parish.

All Masters and Owners of Slaves, who shall not truly inform the Constable, when required, of all their hired Men or Servants, and working Slaves belonging to them, or under their Care, shall forfeit the Sum of 20 *l.* One Third-part to the King, One to the Church-wardens to the Use of the Parish, and the other to the Informer. And every Constable that shall neglect his Duty herein, by demanding an Account every Six Months, and returning the same to the next Quarter-Sessions of that Precinct, shall, for every such Default, forfeit 20 *l.* to the same Uses as aforesaid.

All Servants shall serve according to Contract, and where there is none, Servants under Eighteen Years of Age, at their Arrival in this Island, shall serve Seven Years; and above Eighteen, shall serve Four Years; and all convicted Felons, for the Time of their Banishment; and at the End of

such Times, shall receive from their Master or Employers 40 s. and a Certificate of their Freedom; and he that refuses such Certificate, shall forfeit 40 s.

Whoever shall employ any free Person without a Certificate from the last Employer, shall forfeit 10 l.

None shall presume to trade with any Servant or Slave, without the Master or Mistress's Consent, on Penalty of forfeiting treble the Value of the Thing traded for, and 10 l. to be recovered by the Master or Mistress in any Court. And all Contracts with Servants or Slaves, shall be void.

If any Servant, or hired Labourer, shall lay violent Hands upon his or her Employer or Overseer; such Servant or Labourer shall, upon Conviction, serve without Wages Twelve Months, by Order of any Justice of Peace.

A hired Labourer or Servant, that shall imbezzel, purloin or waste his or her Employer's Money or Goods, shall serve, or make Satisfaction, at the Discretion of any Justice of Peace; if above the Value of 40 s. they shall serve two Years without Wages, and further in case that Time will not satisfy. If they purloin, &c. from any other than their Owners, they shall serve the Party injured, as aforesaid, after their Time expired with their present Owners.

If a Freeman get a Woman-servant with Child, he shall, upon Proof, by the Woman's Oath, give good Security to save the Parish harmless, and also forfeit and pay to the Master or Mistress of such Servant, 20 l. and provide for the Maintenance of the said Servant and Child. And in case of Failure herein, he shall serve the Master or Mistress double the Time the Maid was to serve at the Time of the Offence committed, or procure one to serve in his stead.

If one Servant get another with Child, the Man-servant shall serve the Master or Mistress of the Woman-servant, double the Time she had to serve at the Time of the Offence committed.

If a Man servant marry without his Master or Mistress's Consent, he shall serve two Years for the Offence ; but if a Freeman marry a Servant, he shall pay to the Master or Mistress 20 *l.* and his Wife shall be free.

All Suits between Servants and their Masters, relating to their Freedom, shall be heard and determined by two Justices of Peace, without any Appeal.

Servants absenting from their Service without Leave or a Ticket, shall for every Day's Absence, serve one Week, and so proportionably for a longer Time, the Whole not exceeding three Years.

If any turn away a sick or infirm Servant, and such Servant shall die for Want of Relief, or become chargeable to any Parish, the Offender shall forfeit 20 *l.* to the Use of the Parish, where such Death or Charges shall happen. But if any Servant thro' wilful Misbehaviour, happen to have the *French-pox*, Yaws or any other Disease, broken Bones, Sicknes, Impediment or Imprisonment, he or she shall serve double the Time thereby neglected ; and also for all Charges occasioned by reason thereof, at 10 *s.* per Month after their first Time expired. Also Masters and Mistresses, who receive unjust Molestation by Complaints or Suits at Law, shall have the like Remedy for their Expence, and Loss of Time.

No Servant shall be whipped naked, without Order from a Justice of Peace, on Penalty of 5 *l.* to be recovered by the Party injured in any Court of Record.

Whosoever shall not give to each white Servant, weekly, four Pounds of good Flesh, or good Fish,

Fish, with such convenient Plantation-provision as may be sufficient, shall forfeit to the Party injured 10 s. for each Offence: And not yearly give to each Servants three Shirts, three Pair of Drawers, three Pair of Shoes, three Pair of Stockings, one Hat or Cap, and to Women proportionably, shall forfeit to the Party, 40 s.

No Master, &c. shall suffer to be buried any Christian Servant, till the Body shall be reviewed by some Justice of Peace, Constable, or Tythingman, or two such Neighbours as they shall appoint, Penalty 20 l. unless the Party died Ten Miles from any Justice, &c. and hath been viewed by two of the next Neighbours, or two of the same Family, or that the Justice, &c. hath not come within six Hours after Notice. And whoever upon Notice given, and Request made, shall not within four Hours repair to view, or on the View finding any suspicious Signs of unlawful Death, shall not forthwith give Notice to the Coroner, or to the next Justice of Peace, he shall forfeit 10 l.

Whoever shall entertain a Servant, knowing him to be so, shall, for every Day and Night after the first, forfeit 5 l. but not knowing him to be a Servant, 20 s. so that the Whole exceed not treble the Value of the Servant's Time remaining to be secured. This Clause not to extend to Servants by Contract made in this Island, nor to such as carry with them a Certificate of their Freedom, attested under the Name of a Justice of Peace, tho' the same be false or forged; but such Forger, Falsifier, &c. shall be set in the Pillory, and lose his Ears, upon Conviction.

Whoever shall entertain a Servant at any time, if, during the said time the Servant be drunk, trade, or game, the Entertainer shall forfeit the Sum of 20 s. half to the Parish, half to the Informer.

If

If a Servant or hired Labourer hide or entertain another Man's Servant or Slave, he shall forfeit one Year's Service to the Master or Mistress of such Servant or Slave, or have thirty nine Lashes on the bare Back, at the Election of the Party injured.

No Person shall ride, load, or carry on his Employers Horses, Cattle, Carrs, or Carriages (or suffer the same to be done) any Goods, other than his Masters or Mistresses, without their Consent; Penalty three Months Service for every Default.

All Constables and Tything-men shall be diligent in searching for, and apprehending Runaways, on Penalty of 20 *l.* for every Neglect; and upon apprehending, the Servant shall be conveyed to the Master or Mistress, if known, on Penalty of 40 *s.* if not known, to the next common Goal: The Bringer to be paid by the Master or Mistress, or Goaler, 8 *d.* per Mile, so as the Whole exceed not 40 *s.* which the Goaler shall pay under the Penalty of 40 *s.* and keep the Runaway till the Master, &c. refund to him the said Sum, and 2 *s.* 6 *d.* per Pound for disburfing the said Money, as also 6 *d.* for every twenty four Hours that the Runaway hath been in his Custody. But if he suffer such Runaway to escape, before he be duly delivered to his Owner, he shall pay such Damages as shall be given by a Jury at Common Law.

Any one may take up any suspected Persons, and carry them before any Justice to be examined.

The Captain or other commissioned Officer, shall yearly publish this Act, at the Head of their respective Company or Troop under Penalty of 5 *l.*

The Fines and Penalties of this Act, not otherwise declared, shall be one Moiety to the King, the other to the Informer, to be recovered, if not

not exceeding 40 s. before a Justice of Peace; if above, in any Court of Record, wherein no Essoign, &c.

No Person shall be sued, molested, or troubled, for any Fine or Forfeiture upon this Act, unless within two Years after the Offence committed.

No Merchant, Master, or Importer of white Servants, shall presume to sell any such, before they have been ten Days imported; Penalty 10 l. for every one so sold, half to the King, and half to the Informer.

The Masters of the Ship shall not disembark them during the said ten Days, under the Penalty aforesaid, During which time, the Factor or Seller shall pay the Master for their Diet.

The Master or Commander of any Ship or Vessel, that shall import the Number of fifty white Male-servants, shall upon due Proof thereof, be for that Voyage freed from paying any Port-charges for the said Ship or Vessel, wherein the said Servants were imported.

Debts contracted for Servants sold within this Island, may be recovered by Warrant from any Justice of Peace, as Debts not exceeding 40 s.

No Cooper or Porter in this Island shall use any Negroe-slaves in their Trades or Occupations, under Penalty of 20 l. for every such Offence, to be disposed as aforesaid, except Masters of Sugar-works, who may make Cask at their Plantations, or other convenient Place, as heretofore.

SHIPS and VESSELS.

The Master of every Ship or Vessel, before they trade, or land any Goods within this Island, (living Creatures excepted) shall give Security in the Secretary's Office, with one sufficient Freeholder

holder, or well-known Merchant, in the Sum of 1000 *l.* not to carry off any Person without the Governor's Ticket, nor depart himself without the Governor's Leave, under the Penalty of 50 *l.* one third part to the King, one third to the Governor, and one third to the Informer.

Provided, Masters of Sloops and Vessels trading to and from Ports in this Island, or in turtling, or fishing, need to give such Security but once every Year; and Masters of any Vessels belonging to the Inhabitants of this Island, shall be obliged to give such Security but once in six Months.

The Secretary shall not deliver any Person a Ticket under the Governor's Hand to go off the Island unless his Name hath been set up twenty one Days at the Secretary's Office, both at *St. Jago de la Vega*, and at *Port-Royal*; and the said Person shall also bring one or more of good Credit, to make Affidavit before a Justice of Peace, that he hath known him or her to go by that Name for one Year, or so long as he or she hath lived in the Island; which Affidavit shall be filed in the Secretary's Office, or otherwise the Secretary shall take good Security for the Payment of such Person's Debts so departing; on Default of so doing, the Secretary shall be liable to satisfy the Creditors of such Person himself.

Provided, if the said Bonds are not sued within two Years after the Date, they are hereby declared null and void.

The said Bonds shall be taken in the King's Name, but shall be to the only Use and in Trust for the Persons concerned. And when put in Suit, the Judgment shall be in the same Nature as the Bonds were.

No Execution shall issue thereupon, before the Party aggrieved shall sue out a *Scire facias* against the Defendant, to shew cause why Execution should

should not issue; and if the Plaintiff in the *Scire facias* shall duly prove what Damages he hath sustained, and a Verdict thereupon, the Judge shall award Execution for so much as the Jury shall find: And the former Judgment shall still remain cautionary for the Satisfaction of such others as shall legally prove themselves damnified, &c.

The Secretary or his Deputy shall keep his Office, both at *Port-Royal* and *St. Jago de la Vega*, and due Attendaace shall be given at both Places, on all Days, except *Sundays*, and such Holy-days as are usually observed in this Island, under the Penalty of 20 *l.* one Moiety to the King, the other to the Informer.

No Person employed in any Shallop, Boat, Wherry, or other Vessel, shall demand for Transportation more than the Rates following; from *Passage-Fort* to *Port-Royal*, *Salt-Ponds*, or *St. Andrew's*, in the Day, 2 *s.* 6 *d.* and in the Night, 3 *s.* or for every Person 6 *d.* He that refuses to carry at that Rate, shall forfeit 20 *s.* to the Poor of the Parish. The Freight of the Goods between the said Places 3 *d.* per Hundred, &c.

From the North-side of the Island to any part of the South-side, one hundred Weight, 2 *s.* Barrel, 3 *s.* Hogsheads, 8 *s.* every Head of great Cattle alive, 10 *s.* a Sheep or Hog, 1 *s.* every Passenger, 2 *s.*

From *Port-Royal* to *Port-Morant*, or *Richardson's Bay*, 9 *d.* per Hundred, 5 *s.* per Hogshead; for Wood 13 *s.* per Ton; every Passenger, 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

From *Port-Royal* to *St. David's* 6 *d.* per Hundred, 4 *s.* per Hogshead; every Passenger, 1 *s.* for Wood, 10 *s.* per Ton.

From *Port-Royal* to *Point-Negril*, and *Point-Pedro*, 18 *d.* per Hundred, 6 *s.* per Hogshead.

From *Alligator-Pond*, *Milk-River*, and *Carlisle Towu*, to *Port-Royal*, 1 *s.* per Hundred, &c. from *Old-Harbour*, 6 *d.* per Hundred.

He

He that demands greater Rates than set down in this Act, shall forfeit 10 *l.* for every Default, one half to the King, the other to the Informer.

No *Negro*, *Indian*, or *Mulatto*, shall be permitted to row in any Wherry or Canoe, without one white Man. And all Boats, Wherries and Canoes, shall be chained, and their Sails and Oars secured every Night. The Master or Owner of any Wherry offending herein, shall forfeit 10 *l.* to be disposed as afore said.

Masters and Owners of Wherries, &c. shall have six Months time to furnish themselves with white Men.

Traders about the Island shall every Time they arrive at *Port-Royal*, leave an Account of their Lading at the Naval Office, which shall be a sufficient Entry and Discharge, if their Loading be nothing but the Growth and Production of this Island.

Whosoever shall be indicted and convicted of the stealing and taking away any Shallop, Boat, Wherry, Canoe, or other Vessel, from any Part of this Island, or shall be consenting aiding, or assisting to the same, shall be adjudged guilty of Felony.

If the Intention and complotting of any Person, so to do, shall evidently appear by Proof or Confession, he shall be condemned by the Justices at the Sessions to pay the Sum of 10 *l.* to the King; which if not presently paid, the Justices shall expose the Offender to publick Sale for the Payment thereof, not exceeding four Years: If the Party be a Servant, he shall be ordered to be whipped on the bare Back, not exceeding thirty nine Lashes; and after the Time expired with his Master, Mistress, or Employer, be sold for four Years.

No Seaman belonging to any Ship shall be trusted for any thing, and whoever trusts or retains any of them in his House, shall lose his Money,

and be also proceeded against, and subject to the penalties as for retaining other Men's Servants (excepting Matter of Trade :) *Vide* Servants.

If any Victualler, or Retailer of Liquors trust any Sea-faring Man, not generally residing in this Island, above the Value of 40 s. tho' he have a Bond for the same, he shall lose his Money.

If any Commander entice away any Seaman belonging to another Ship, before he be lawfully discharged, he shall forfeit 15 l. half to the King, and half to him that shall sue for the same.

All Warrants from Justices of Peace against any person aboard any Ship within the Precincts of *Port-Royal*, shall be directed to the Provost-Marshal, or Deputy, or any lawful Constable of the Place, who are hereby impowered to execute the same, and for so doing, to receive 3 s.

Whatsoever Seaman shall desert the Ship he belongs to, and shall be found after the Departure of the Ship, and cannot produce sufficient Proof of his being discharged by the Commander thereof, he shall by Order of any one Justice of Peace, receive thirty nine Lashes on the bare Back by the common Hangman, or other inferior Servant

No Person whatsoever, without Leave of the Chief Officer upon *Port-Royal*, shall go on board any Ship at her entring into Harbour 'till the Marshal or his Deputy hath first been on board with the Master, and brought him on Shore to the Chief Officer; Penalty 40 s. half to the Informer, half to the Poor of the Parish.

Nor shall any Person whatsoever treat about any Merchandize or Commodity to the Value of 10 s. nor any Quantity of Freight, till the Master hath been with the Governor, or such other Officer as he shall appoint, under the Penalty of 50 l. one half to the King, the other to the Informer.

SLAVES.

No Master of any Ship or Vessel shall presume to carry off this Island, any Slave or Slaves without a Ticket under the Governor's Hand wherein shall be inserted the Owner's Name, who shall make Oath before a Justice of Peace, that the said Slave or Slaves are his or hers, &c. upon Forfeiture of double the Value of such Slaves so carried off without Ticket, one half to the King, the other to him that shall sue for the same. For which Ticket the Secretary shall receive 2 s. 6 d. for his Fee; but shall insert as many in the same, as the Owner of the Slaves shall require.

None shall give Leave to any Negro-slave except such as wait upon their Person, or wear Liveries, to go out of their Plantations, without a Ticket or white Servant, in which Ticket is to be expressed their Name, from whence, and whither going, on Penalty of 40 s. and paying for taking up as Runaways. And whosoever shall not apprehend a wandering Negro-slave in his Plantation, (except as before qualified) and not punish him by moderate Whipping, shall forfeit 40 s.

If a Negro-slave strikes any Person, except in Defence of his Owner's Person or Goods, he shall for the first Offence be severely whipped by Order of a Justice of Peace; for the second, by the like Order be severely whipped, his or her Nose slit, and Face burnt in some Place; and for the third Offence, left to two Justices, and three Freeholders, to inflict Death, or what other punishment they think fit.

All Men-slaves shall have Drawers and Caps, and Women, Petticoats, once every Year.

No Slave shall be free by becoming a Christian, but shall, as to the Payment of Debts, be

accounted Chattels. And where other Chattels are not sufficient, so many Slaves as necessary, shall be sold for payment of Debts. In all other Cases, Negroes and Slaves shall be taken as Freehold, and descend accordingly.

No Person whatsoever (except the Provost-Marshal, at the Goal of *St. Jago de la Vega*) shall keep any runaway Slave above ten Days: nor shall the Provost-Marshal, or any other, employ any such, or suffer any to want convenient Food and Water; Penalty 40 *l.* If any such die in their Custody for Want of Food or Water, or convenient Lodging, the person in whose Custody such Negro was, shall pay the Owner 50 *l.* to be recovered by Action of Debt, in any Court of Record in this Island.

Whoever shall take up a runaway Slave, shall bring him to his proper Owner, if known, and receive for their Pains 1 *s.* per Mile for the first Five, and 8 *d.* per Mile for all over, the Whole not exceeding 40 *s.* If the Owner is not known, he shall be delivered to the Marshal, upon pain of forfeiting 20 *l.* for every Day he shall keep such Slave beyond the said ten Days.

The said Taker-up shall set up an Account of his own Name, and place of Abode, with a particular Description of the Slave in his Custody, at *St. Jago de la Vega*, and *Port-Royal*, on Penalty of 200 *l.*

The Marshal shall enter the said Account in a Book, and take a Receipt from the Person to whom he delivers any Runaway.

In case the Marshal shall refuse to make Payment for the taking up of a runaway Slave, any Constable, by a Justice of Peace's Warrant, may levy the Value thereof by Distress and Sale of the said Marshal's Goods.

The said Marshal may detain and keep in Custody all such Runaways brought unto him, till the Owner pay him the full Sum which he paid.

paid for them, 2 s. 6 d. per Pound for his laying out the Money, and 6 d. for every 24 Hours such Slave hath been in his Custody. If the said Marshal suffer any such Slave to escape, to be employed, and to be put out of his Custody, before he shall be delivered to the Owner, he shall forfeit to the Owner 50 l.

All Owners of Slaves shall cause their Slaves Houses to be diligently searched over every Fortnight, for Clubs, wooden Swords, and mischievous Weapons, and finding any, cause the same to be burnt: Also upon Request search for stolen Goods, and Flesh not honestly come by. Things found and suspected to be stolen, shall be seized, and a Description in Writing sent to the Clerk of the Parish, or next Court who shall give Notice thereof; and the Owner, making due Proof, that the Goods belong to him, shall have them, paying the Clerk 1 s. for his Publication. The Party that refuses to restore such Goods to the Owners, shall forfeit 20 l.

If any Slave shall take up a Runaway, he or she shall have the whole Benefit thereof; and if any deprive the Slave of the said Benefit, he shall forfeit treble the Value.

No Person whatsoever shall attempt to steal or carry off any Slave, on Penalty of 60 l. and he that actually doth it, shall be guilty of Felony, without Benefit of Clergy.

Any Person may ruinate and destroy any Plantation deserted for the Space of Two Months, lest it become a Receptacle for Fugitives.

Upon Complaint of any heinous and grievous Crime committed by any Slave, as Burglary, Robbery, burning of Houses, killing or stealing of Cattle, &c. the Justices shall issue out their Warrants, and, upon probable Proof, the Offender shall be committed or bailed, as the Case shall require. And Two Justices shall issue their Summons to Three

Sufficient Freeholders, appointing a Day and Place, when and where the said Justices, and the Three Freeholders, shall hear the Matter; and if, upon Evidence, the Party appears guilty: they shall give Sentence of Death, or such other Punishment as the Crime by Law deserveth, and by their Warrants cause immediate Execution to be done. But if the Crime shall not deserve Death, they shall adjudge the Criminal to the Party injured, and Heirs for ever, (after corporal Punishment) unless the Owner of the Slave shall pay to the Party injured, such Sum of Money as the said Justices and Freeholders shall appoint. And if any Justice or Freeholder shall neglect his Duty herein, he shall forfeit 20 l.

If any of the said Crimes be committed by more than One Negro, that shall deserve Death, One of the Criminals shall only suffer Death, as exemplary, the rest returned to the Owners, which Owners shall bear proportionably the Loss of the Negro put to Death, and pay proportionably the Damage done by the said Criminal to the Party injured; and if any of them shall refuse to pay his Part allotted, the Justice and Freeholders aforesaid shall issue their Warrant to raise the same by Distress and Sale of the Goods and Chattels of the Person so refusing.

Every Commission-Officer shall, upon Notice given him of the Haunt or Hiding-place of any runaway Negroes, raise a Party of Men, not exceeding 20, and with them pursue, apprehend, and take the said Runaways alive or dead. Whatsoever Commission-Officer shall neglect his Duty herein, shall forfeit 20 l.

If any Slave commit Murder, rise in Rebellion, or make any Preparation of Arms, Powder, &c. or conspire for that End, he shall be tried by Two Justices, and Three Freeholders, with Judgment and Execution in like manner, as before expressed

pressed, and if any Person shall make away or conceal any Negroes suspected of the aforesaid Crimes, and not, upon Demand, bring forth the suspected Party, he shall forfeit 100 l.

The Marshal shall give an Account at every Sessions, of what Negroes he hath in Prison at *St. Jago de la Vega*, and *Port-Royal*, with their Marks and Seals, and the Time they have been in their Goal, in Writing, on Penalty of 100 l. for every Default.

All Owners of Plantations shall have at all times One Acre of Ground well planted with Provisions for every Five Negroes, and so proportionably, under the Penalty of 40 s. for every Acre wanting.

No Master or Owner of Slaves shall let out any Slave for Hire, to work upon *Port-Royal* as a common Porter; Penalty 20 l. for every Offence.

If any Slave, by Punishment from his Owner for running away, or other Offence, suffer in Life or Limbs, none shall be liable to the Law for the same; but whoever shall kill a Slave out of Willfulness, Wantonness, or Bloodymindedness, shall suffer Three Months Imprisonment, and pay 50 l. to the Owner of the Slave. If the Party so offending be a Servant, he or she shall have on the bare Back Thirty nine Lashes: and also (after the Expiration of the Term with his or her Master or Mistress) shall serve the Owner of the deceased Slave, the full Term of Four Years.

If any Person kill a Slave, stealing or running away, or found by Night out of his Owner's Ground, Road, or common Path, such Person shall not be subject to any Damage or Action for the same.

A Negro taken stealing Wood in Boats or Canoes, and thereof convicted, shall be condemned to serve the Owner of the Land where the Offence was committed, six Months, without any Satisfaction, to the Owner of the Slave.

All Masters of Boats, Wherries, and Canoes plying at *Port-Royal*, shall give their own Bonds of 50 *l.* not to carry any Negroes without a Ticket (except as before); which Bonds shall be taken in the King's Name, and Proceedings thereupon(in such manner as is appointed in *An Act requiring Masters of Ships to give Security, &c.* (*vid.* Ships and Vessels). The Secretary, in whose Office the Bonds shall be recorded, may take one Shilling for each Bond, and no more.

If such Masters of Boats, &c. shall not within 40 Days give such Bond to the Secretary, they shall forfeit 40 *s.* for every Week after.

This Act shall be read in all Parish-churches, by the Clerk, yearly, the first *Sunday* after *Christmas* Day, and first after *Midsummer*; and where there are no Churches, by the Clerk of the Peace of the Precinct, every other Sessions; Penalty 5 *l.* for each Default.

Penalties mentioned in this Act, and not otherwise declared, shall be recovered before a Justice of Peace, if not exceeding 40 *s.* if more, by Action of Debt, one Moiety to the King, the other to the Informer.

SURVEYORS.

None shall act as a Surveyor-General, before he hath given Security in the Sum of 4000 *l.* for the faithful Performance of his Office and Trust; which Bonds shall be kept and recorded in the Secretary's Office, and Damages recovered thereon, in such Manner as directed in the *Act requiring Masters of Ships to give Security, &c.* (*vid.* Ships and Vessels).

Provided, any Person may survey and re-survey any Land, where the King is not Party; but where he is, only the Surveyor-General, or such as are authorized by the Governor shall survey.

The

The Surveyor-General, or other Person lawfully authorized, as aforesaid, shall execute every Order or Warrant directed to him for surveying within a reasonable time; viz. within the Parishes of *St. Katharine's, Port-Royal, or St. Andrew's*, within one Month; and in the most remote Parishes in the Island, within six Months; upon Penalty of 100 *l.* for every such Default, one Moiety to the King, the other to the Party aggrieved, or him that shall sue for the same.

If any cause the Surveyor to take a Journey, and when he comes to the Place assigned, the Party shall not be there ready to shew him the Land to be surveyed, he shall pay the Surveyor 10 *s.* *per Diem*, for every Day he shall so lose.

The Surveyor-General, or his Deputy, shall keep his Office at *St. Jago de la Vega*, under the Penalty of 500 *l.* to the Uses aforesaid, and shall there attend from Eight to Eleven in the Forenoon, and from Two to Five in the Afternoon, except *Sundays and Holy-days*, under the Penalty of 40 *s.*

A Power left in the King, and his Officers, to re-examine the Surveyors for what concerns his Majesty.

No Surveyor shall deliver any Plat, before he hath himself actually surveyed and measured the said Land on every Side, where accessible, and seen the Lines made, and Corner Trees marked, and inserted a Scale of the same, under the Penalty of 50 *l.* for every Default.

The Surveyor, before he run upon any Land already taken up, shall give Notice thereof to the Owner or Possessors of the same, if he know them; if not, to the two next Neighbours, under Penalty of 20 *l.*

No Surveyor shall survey or lay out any Land, to pass the Broad-Seal of this Island, for his own Use, but shall employ some other Surveyor to do it, under Penalty of 50 *l.*

All

All Surveyors who have given Plats, whereby any Parcel of Land hath passed the Broad-Seal of this Island, without actual surveying on all Sides, where feasible, shall, on Request to them made at any time, complete a former Survey, according to the Plat by them given, running Lines, and marking Trees, according to Custom; but no Surveyor is obliged to re-survey, or cut Lines in Lands that have been patented more than four Years: Surveyors that upon Request shall deny, refuse or delay to rectify Errors in such manner, as aforesaid, shall forfeit for every three Months delay, 20 *l.* half to the King, half to the Informer.

Every Surveyor, when an Order for Survey is offered him, shall immediately take a Memorandum of the Place, Time and Particulars; and writing the same on the Back of the Order, shall survey the Land accordingly; and if he hath received an Order already, which he believes is for the same Land, he shall then declare the same, and shew the Order, if required, under the Penalty of 40 *l.* for every Default.

Every Surveyor shall return two Plats upon every Survey to the Patent Office, one to remain there, the other to be affixed to the Grant.

The Clerk of the Patents shall accordingly fix one of the Plats to the Grant, and keep the other in the Office without Imbezzelment, and the Secretary shall record the Plat next to the respective Grant or Patent; the Clerk of the Patents may receive, for writing an original Patent, 10 *s.* and no more; and the said Clerk and Secretary, offending against any Clause of this Act, he or they so offending, shall forfeit 20 *l.* for every Offence.

Every Surveyor, Clerk of the Patents, or other Person having in his Possession any original Plat, shall on Request give a true Copy of the same for 2 *s.* 6 *d.* Penalty 40 *s.* one half to the Churchwardens for the Use of the Poor, the other to the Party complaining.

Every

Every Surveyor, may receive 4 *d.* per Acre for surveying any Quantity of Land, and no more.

Every Surveyor, before he acts, shall give Bond with sufficient Surety, in the Sum of 300 *l.* for the true and just Performance of his Office, under the Penalty of 50 *l.* the Bond to be kept in the Secretary's Office, to be put in Suit (if Occasion be) in the same manner as is declared. *Tit. Ships and Vessels.*

If the Surveyor-General keep his Office, and perform his Duties, as herein required, he may employ Deputies as formerly; but his Bond of 4000 *l.* shall remain cautionary for Security, both as to himself and his Deputies.

If any Person having an original Plat in his Custody, shall not return the same into the Patent-Office, he shall, upon due Conviction, forfeit 100 *l.*

All Penalties in this Act mentioned, and not otherwise directed, shall be one half to the King, the other to him that shall sue for the same in any Court of Record, wherein no Essoign, &c.

TAXES.

The Surveyors of the High-ways in the several Parishes shall, upon any sudden and extraordinary Occasion of repairing the same, represent it to the Justices of the respective Precinct, who shall thereupon lay a Tax upon the Inhabitants of the said Precinct of such Money, Labour, or other Things, as shall seem necessary for the immediate Repair of the said Ways.

For the repairing of Forts, and defraying many necessary Charges in and about the Government of this Island, an Impost is granted to the King, of Liquors and Goods imported; viz. upon all Spanish and Madera Wines, 4 *l.* per Ton; Wines of the Western Islands, or Mixture therewith, 10 *l.* per Ton; French and Rhenish Wines, 3 *l.*

3 *l.* per Ton ; Brandy 1 *s.* per Gallon ; *English* Spirits, 3 *d.* per Gallon ; Beer and Cyder, 8 *s.* per Ton ; Mum and Metheglin 40 *s.* per Ton ; white Sugar 10 *s.* per Hundred ; Muscovadoes and Partial Sugar, 6 *s.* per Hundred ; Indico, 6 *s.* per Pound ; Tobacco, 2 *d.* per Pound ; Ginger, 10 *s.* per Hundred ; Rum 1 *s.* 6 *d.* per Gallon ; Cocoa, 10 *s.* per Hundred, and so proportionably.

Importers shall within twenty Days after landing, make up Accounts, and give Bonds of double the Value, and thereupon shall be allowed 10 *per Cent.* for Leakage, and shall pay one third part at the End of two Months from the making up such Accounts, one third part at the End of the fourth Month, and the Remainder at the End of the sixth Month.

Every Hoghead of Wine or other Liquor, that shall not have Seven Inches or above left therein, and a Butt or Pipe, nine Inches, shall be accounted for Outs, and the Importer pay no Custom for it.

Liquors that prove bad, &c. shall be surveyed (if Controversy happen) by Warrant from the Naval Office, which shall be returned upon Oath.

Such Importers as make not up their Accounts within ten Days, (being thereunto required) shall lose the Benefit of the 10 *per Cent.* for Leakage, and the Time given for payment ; and if the Receiver be put to sue for the same, the Defendants shall pay treble Damages.

If the Master, when he makes his Entry in the Naval Office, owns to have imported *Madera* Wines. he or the Boat-swain shall make Oath, *That the Wines were taken in at the Island of Madera, and that he doth not know but the said Wines are of the Growth of that Island, without any Mixtures, &c.* If he refuse to make such Oath, the Wines shall be taken to be of the Growth

Growth of the Western Islands, and shall pay accordingly.

Liquors and Goods exported within a Year after Importation, shall be allowed a Draw-back of half what was paid for Custom, which the Collector or Receiver shall repay or discount, under the Penalty of double the Sum to the Party grieved.

All Ships and Vessels coming from the Northward of the Tropick of *Cancer*, shall pay for every Ton such Vessel contains, one Pound of Gun-powder, every time they arrive ; but such as trade Southward of the said Tropick, shall pay the like once a Year, and no more ; the Collector shall receive the said Duty in Specie, and not Money, or other Things in lieu thereof, Penalty 20 *l.* Now they pay either 2 *s.* 6 *d.* or the Pound of Gun-powder, as they please.

Goods landed without the Presence of the Collector, or other appointed by him, before Entry made, Payment of the Duty, or Bond given, after Sun-set, and before Sun-rising, with Intent to defraud the King of his Customs, shall be forfeited, two Thirds to the King, and one Third to the Informer or Seizer, to be recovered in any Court of Record ; and all Persons shall be aiding and assisting to the Receiver, Informer, Discoverer and Seizer herein.

The Receiver and his Agents may by Warrant from any Justice of Peace, and with a Constable, search any House, Cellar, Ware-house and Shop, for concealed Goods and Liquors ; which being found, shall be forfeited and condemned, provided the Search be within three Days after Information.

The Collector or his Deputy shall attend at his Office from Nine to Eleven in the Morning, and from Two to Four in the Afternoon, upon Penalty of 20 *l.*

Such as have Licence to sell and retail any strong Liquors, shall pay for the said Licence, and every Year renewing, 5 *l.* to the King; and such as presume to sell without Licence, shall forfeit for every such Offence the Sum of 10 *l.*

Such as come to settle in this Island, and bring Rum, Sugar, Tobacco, &c. for their own Con-
venience, shall declare the same upon Oath at the Time of Importation, or make the same appear within three Months after Arrival, by some visible Effect; in such Case the said Goods shall not be chargeable with any Duty or Customs, except only what he shall sell and dispose of, which must pay as in other Cases.

All the King's Quit-rents, and all the Revenue hereby granted, shall be applied and appropriated to the Support of the Government of this Island, and the contingent Charges thereof, and to no other Use.

The Sum of 1250 *l.* *per Annum*, arising as aforesaid, shall be annually paid and appropriated to the repairing, building and rebuilding his Majesty's Forts and Fortifications in this Island.

The Collector or Receiver-General shall charge the 1250 *l.* so appropriated, as aforesaid in a distinct Book of Accounts, which Book shall be free and open at all Office-hours for all Persons to view without Fee; and the said Receiver-General shall when required by the Governor, Council or Assembly, give in upon Oath a true Account of the Disbursements out of the said 1250 *l.* *per Annum*.

The said General-Receiver shall, with sufficient Security, enter into Bond of 5000 *l.* Penalty, (to be kept and recovered in the Secretary's Office) with Condition *truly to account for all such Money as shall come to his Hands, and well and truly pay the Sum of 1250 l. yearly, by the Warrant of the Governor and Quorum of the Council,*

cil, towards the repairing and building Fortifications, &c. And in case the said Collector or Receiver-General shall act in the said Office longer than twenty Days without giving such Security as aforesaid, or shall misapply any Part of the said 1250 *l.* he shall, for every such Offence, forfeit the Sum of 2500 *l.* one half to the King, the other to him that shall sue for the same in any Court of Record, wherein no Effoign, Injunction, Wager of Law, or *Non Prof.* shall be allowed.

The Collector, Receiver or Deputy, shall not pay any Part of the said 1250 *l. per Annum.* or any Sum arising from the Quit-rents, or by virtue of this Act, without a Warrant under the Governor's Hand and Seal; and if the said Collectors, &c. shall pay any Monies contrary to the true Intent and Meaning hereof, or if any other Person or Persons shall misapply any of the Monies so appropriated, as aforesaid, the Offender shall forfeit and pay treble the Sum so mispaid.

All Forfeitures and Penalties in this Act mentioned, and not otherwise disposed of, shall be one half to the King for the Support of the Government, and contingent Charges, the other half to the Informer, to be recovered in any Court of Record, &c.

For towards the buying or hiring, victualing and manning two good Sloops of War, each carrying fifty Men, to be employed for six Months, towards guarding the Sea-coasts, and cruising, &c. and also for and towards the raising of two Parties, each of ten Soldiers and two Officers for six Months, and towards the reducing rebellious Negroes.

Enacted, That the Sum of 4303 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.* be assessed, taxed, and laid by the Justices and Vestries, or where no Vestries, by the Justices of that Parish or Precinct, on all and every Person,

within their several and respective Precincts, by an equal and just Tax according to the several Rates and Proportions following.

For every Negroe, *Indian* or *Mulatto* Slave, to be paid for by the Owner or Possessor, 1 s. 6 d. For every Horse, Mare, Colt, Mule, Ass, and Neat Cattle, 7 d. Half-penny. For Sheep, Lambs, Goats, Kids, 2 s. 6 d. *per* Score.

All Overseers and hired Servants shall be assessed 6 d. *per* Pound upon the Wages they receive *per* Ann. All Handicrafts and Tradesmen shall be rated according to the Direction of the Justices and Vestry, in the several Parishes where they reside.

In the Parish of *Port-Royal*, there shall be assessed and levied 1 s. in the Pound on all Rents, to be paid by the Tenants, and allowed by their Landlords, and upon the several Inhabitants for their Trades, Occupations and Callings. And also on all Persons residing at the Town of *St. Jago de la Vega*, 1 s. in the Pound to be paid by the Tenants, and allowed by Landlords, &c. And the like for those residing at *Kingston*, to be rated by the Justices of the Parish of *St. Andrew's*.

The *Jews* residing in this Island shall pay, over and above the Tax as afore assessed, the Sum of 750 l.

If any of the *Jews* appointed to assess and collect the foresaid Sum, shall neglect his or their Duty therein, the Governor by Warrant under his Hand and Seal, directed to the *Provost-Marshal*, may cause to be levied on the Person so offending 100 l. by Distress and Sale of his Slaves, Goods and Chattels; and in case no Distress can be found, then to take into Custody the Body of the Person so offending, till Payment.

The Justices shall deliver to the Constables within their respective Parishes and Precincts, a
Roll

Roll of such Assessments as aforesaid, so that the Collection be made within two Months after the 10th of *June*, with a Warrant under the same, empowering the said Constable to levy the same, and pay it into the Hands of the Church-wardens, or where no Church-wardens, into the Hands of the Justices of that Parish, deducting 4 *d.* per Pound for collecting, except in the Parishes of *Port-Royal* and *Kingston*, where it shall be done *gratis*. Which said Church-wardens shall pay the same to the Receiver.

The Justices or any two of them, shall empower the Constables, upon Refusal or Delay of Payment, to distrain upon the the personal Estate of the Person refusing or delaying, and forthwith sell the same at publick Outcry, retaining to themselves 1 *s.* in the Pound for such Distreis, and return the overplus, if any be.

The Justices and Vestries, in their several Precincts shall with all possible Speed after the passing this Act, proceed to the Discharge of their Duties. If any Justice, Vestry-man, Constable or Church-warden, shall wilfully fail in his Duty, in such case the Justice shall forfeit 50 *l.* any of the other 20 *l.* for every such Offence.

All Owners of Slaves, Horses, or any Sorts of Cattle, Tradesmen, and hired Men whatsoever, shall give a just and true Account upon Oath, to the best of their Knowledge, at such times as the Justices shall direct, of all Slaves, Horses, or other Cattle, Rents, Trades, and Callings, as are belonging to them (*Jews* only excepted).

If any Person whatsoever shall refuse, either by himself, Overseer, or Penn-keeper, to discover upon Oath, the true Number of their Slaves, Horses, &c. it shall be lawful for the Justices and Vestry to tax such Person according to their Discretion.

Whoſoever ſhall advance and lend any Sum of Money upon the Security of this Act, ſhall receive for the Loan of the ſame after the Rate of 12 *l.* 10 *s.* *per Cent. per Ann.* for the time he ſhall be in Diſburſe of the ſaid Sum.

Which Sum or Sums ſo lent on the Credit of this Act, ſhall by the Receiver on the firſt Payment of Money that ſhall be paid into the Receiver's Hands by Virtue of this Act, be forthwith repaid to the Perſon or Perſons ſo lending the ſame, their Executors or Adminiſtrators, with the Interest of the ſame. And all other Sum or Sums that ſhall be laid out or paid by the Receiver, about the two Sloops, and two Parties for reducing rebellious Negroes, as before-mentioned, ſhall be paid by the Receivers, without Fee or Charge.

The Parties above-mentioned to be raiſed for ſubduing the rebellious Negroes in caſe of Miſdemeanours, ſhall be ſubject to the Punishments preſcribed in the Articles of War, as when Martial Law's in Force. And the Captain of each Party ſhall receive for his Pay 4 *l.* *per Month*, each Serjeant 50 *s.* *per Month*, each Soldier 40 *s.* *per Month* to be paid by the Receiver or Receivers without Fee.

Thoſe that go out in the Parties to reduce the Negroes ſhall receive from the Treasurers, for every rebellious Negro that ſhall be killed, bringing in his Head to any Juſtice 40 *l.* for every Negroe taken and brought in alive, and not maimed, 10 *l.* to be paid by the Owner; who is hereby obliged, under the Penalty of 50 *l.* to transport ſuch Slave ſo taken; and in caſe the Owner cannot be found, then the Treasurer ſhall pay the 10 *l.* receive the Slave, ſell and transport him; and retain the Produce to be employed in the ſaid Service.

All Negroes that have been abſent from their Owner or Plantations ſix Months, ſhall be accounted as in actual Rebellion.

The Receiver or Receivers, Treasurer or Treasurers, shall be allowed all his or their reasonable Charges, Commission, or Pretences to Commission, excepted.

There shall be raised and paid the following Imposts upon *Madera* Wines, over and above what is already payable, for three Months and no longer, viz. the Sum of 40 s. for every Ton.

And for every Slave exported by way of Merchandize, for the Term aforesaid, the Owner shall pay 20 s. per Head. All which Negroes shall be enter'd in the Receiver-General's Office, and Bond given by the Owner to pay the Money within one Month after Entry.

Whoever shall export any Slave or Slaves, and not make Entry, give Bond, and pay as before directed, shall forfeit for every Slave so exported 50 l. one half to his Majesty, the other to the Informer.

Every Merchant, or other Importer of *Madera* Wines, during the said Term of three Months, shall make Entry, make up Accounts, and give Bonds, in the same Method, and the same Penalty, as directed by an Act for raising a public Revenue for Support of the Government, &c.

The Money arising by Virtue of this Act shall be to the Use of his Majesty for the Support of the Government of this Island, and the contingent Charges thereof.

There shall be raised and paid unto his Majesty, for the Support of the Government, an additional Duty and Impost upon the following Liquors, over and above what is already payable, viz.

For every Ton of *Spanish* and *Madera* Wine imported 40 s. all Wines of the Growth of the Western Islands, 5 l. per Ton; all *French* Wines or *Rhenish* Wines, 3 s. per Ton; Beer or Cyder, 4 s. per Ton; Mum or Metheglin, 20 s. per Ton; Brandy, 6 d. per Gallon; *English* Spirits, 3 d. per Gallon; and so proportionably.

ALL

All which said Liquors shall be duly entered, under the Penalties mentioned in the *Act for raising a publick Revenue*, &c.

For Slaves exported, the Owner shall pay 20*s.* each, excepting Slaves ordered to be transported for Misdemeanours.

Upon due Proof in the supreme Court of Judicature an Action of Debt shall lie for his Majesty, against any Person, his Executors, &c. that stand indebted for Customs, whether Bond be given or not.

After the Deduction and Payment of the said Sum of 1774 *l.* 16 *s.* the rest of the Monies shall remain as a Fund to encourage such Persons as are willing to transport themselves hither, and be applied to no other Use.

All Tradesmen and others, not able to pay their Passages, except *Jews*, Cripples and Children under eleven Years of Age, who are willing to transport themselves to this Island, shall, upon their repairing to any Master of any Ship, be received on Board, and after their Arrival here, be free from all Manner of Servitude, and have Liberty to employ themselves as they think fit, in any honest Trade, Service or Calling; and the Captain or Master shall receive of the Treasurers appointed by this Act, for every Person coming from *England* or *Scotland*, 7 *l.* 10 *s.* and for every Person from *Ireland*, 6 *l.* for their Passage: and for every Person so brought from *Europe*, the said Master shall have for his Encouragement, and to his own Use, the further Sum of 20 *s.* per Head.

All Masters of Vessels, that shall import any such Persons as aforesaid, from *New-England*, *Carolina*, or any other Parts of *America*, shall receive the Sum of 3 *l.* 10 *s.* and for every Person brought from *Providence*, and the *Windward Islands*, 40 *s.* And also for every Person from
any

any of the aforesaid Places, the further Sum of 10 s. *per* Head for his own Use and Benefit.

All Masters who shall import as aforesaid, shall within forty eight Hours after Arrival, deliver upon Oath to the Secretary a List of the Names, Age and Trade, &c. of the Persons imported, which he is to enter in a Book, and transmit the List to the Treasurer, who is thereupon to pay the respective Sums to the Masters, and 2 s. 6 d. to the Secretary.

All Merchants and others, importing any Wines and Liquors before-mentioned, shall enter the same in the Office of the Receivers General, after the manner prescribed in the *Act for raising a publick Revenue*, &c.

All which Duties, and the Impost on Negroes, shall be kept in a Book apart, the Bonds taken in his Majesty's Name; the Money arising thereon shall be paid into the Hands of the Receiver-General, and by him paid over to the Treasurer within twenty Days after. For which Bonds and Entries, receiving and paying, the said Receiver-General, (or Deputy) shall retain to himself Two and a half *per Cent.* and no more.

For Goods of which the Customs are under 5 l. Value, no Bond shall be taken, nor Credit given, but the Customs of the same shall be immediately paid to the Receiver-General.

All Negroes to be exported shall be entred, and Bond given by the Owner for the Payment of the Money within one Month after the Entry, under the Penalty of 50 l.

The Commissioners may appoint one or more of their own Number to receive and pay the Money arising by this Act, of all which the Treasurer shall keep an exact and distinct Account, and declare the same, when thereunto required. If the Treasurer shall divert or misapply any of the said Monies, he shall forfeit to his Majesty double the Sum so diverted or misapplied.

The

The Treasurer for the Time being shall be allowed two and a half *per Cent.* for his Charges in and about the Discharge of this Trust.

Such Monies as remain in the Treasurer's Hands, (if any) after the Expiration of this Act, shall notwithstanding be employed to the Uses in this Act appointed.

The Secretary shall upon Demand, give a Copy of this Act to any Person requiring it, for which he shall receive 10 s. and in case of Delay or Refusal, he shall forfeit 40 s.

If the Receiver-General refuse to do and perform all and every thing as by this Act enjoined him, he shall forfeit for every such Offence the Sum of 500 l. And all other Persons offending contrary to the true Meaning of this Act, shall forfeit (if no Penalty be already laid) the Sum of 100 l. one Moiety of which forfeitures shall be to his Majesty, the other to the Informer, to be recovered in any Court of Record, where no Effoign, &c.

The Sum of 450 l. shall be levied and paid within three Months after the 10th Day of *August*, and so every Year, for the soliciting the Affairs of this Island in *England*; viz.

From the Parish and Town of *Port-Royal*
 49 l. 10 s. 10 d. *St. Andrew's* 52 l. 17 s. 5 d.
St. Katharine's, 56 l. 16 s. 3 d. *St. Dorothy*,
 25 l. 3 s. 1 d. *Vere*, 47 l. 1 s. 8 d. *Clarendon*,
 42 l. 1 s. 8 d. *St. Elizabeth*, 51 l. 6 s. 8 d.
St. Thomas to Windward, 27 l. 10 s. *St. David's* 16 l. 11 s. *St. Thomas in the Vale*, 21 l.
 9 s. *St. John's* 15 l. 8 s. 3 d. *St. George's*,
 3 l. 13 s. 1 d. *St. Mary's*, 11 l. 5 s. 7 d. *St. Anne's*,
 7 l. 13 s. 6 d. *St. James's*, 2 l. 16 s. 8 d. *Kingston*, 19 l. 5 s.

The Money so raised and paid as aforesaid, shall by the Receiver, be yearly remitted on the Country's Risque, in such manner as they shall think

think fit, to solicit in *England* the publick Affairs of this Island, as Occasion shall require.

The Commissioners shall at no time order any thing, contrary to any of the Instructions drawn up for the Council and Assembly, for Direction to the Solicitors in *England*, but fully observe and be directed thereby: Notwithstanding they may, upon any sudden emergent Occasions, give the said Solicitors such further Instructions as they shall think fit.

The said Commissioners, or major Part of them, may from time to time turn out, or alter any of the Solicitors in this Act mentioned, if it be thought fit.

The Receiver or Receivers of the Monies arising by this Act, shall keep an exact and distinct Account of all Payments and Remittances, and render a true Account thereof, when required, to the rest of the Commissioners, or to the Assembly, when sitting. And if any Receiver shall divert or misapply any of the said Money, he shall forfeit to his Majesty double the Sum.

The said Receiver or Receivers shall be allowed his or their Expences. But in case he or they neglect or refuse to remit the said Sums yearly, during the Continuance of this Act, to the Solicitors in *England*, shall forfeit the Sum of 500 *l*.

All Owners of Slaves, Horses, or any kind of Cattle, shall by themselves, Guardians, Overseers, Trustees, or Penn-keepers, give a true and just Account upon Oath, at such time as the Justices shall direct, of the Numbers of his Slaves Horses, and all other Cattle, and of his Rents. And if any refuse by themselves, or Overseers, &c. to give such Account upon Oath the Justices and Vestry may tax such Person according to their Discretion.

The Parties raised for subduing rebellious Negroes, in case of Misdemeanour, or Neglect of Duty

Duty, shall be subject to the Punishment prescribed in the Articles of War, as when Martial Law is in Force. And the Captains of each Party shall receive for Pay 4 *l.* per Month, each Serjeant 50 *s.* and each Soldier 40 *s.* per Month.

Of the Monies arising by Virtue of the fore-said Acts, 1000 *l.* shall be employed for paying the Passages of such Persons as shall transport themselves hither, according to the Directions of an Act passed to that Purpose.

TREASON.

Whosoever shall at any time hereafter falsify, forge, or counterfeit his Majesty's Broad-Seal of this Island, every such Offence shall be deemed and adjudged High-Treason. And the Offender or Offenders therein, their Counsellors, Aiders, Abbettors, or Concealers, being lawfully convicted by the Oaths of two credible Witnesses upon Trial, or otherwise, shall be adjudged Traitors, and suffer such Pains, Penalties and Forfeitures, as in like Cases is ordained by the Laws of *England*.

VAGABONDS and POOR.

Any Three Justices, and the Vestry of each Parish, or the major Part of them, may lay a Tax (if it seem convenient) for the building one or more Houses of Correction within their several Parishes, and for providing Stocks for the same; and for governing the same, make such Order as the said Justices and Vestry shall think fit; which shall be of Force, and put in Execution.

All Rogues, Vagabonds, and other idle Persons, that shall be found wandering, or otherwise

wife misordering themselves, shall be apprehended by the Constables, and carried before some Justice of Peace of that Precinct; and if the Person apprehended appear to be fit and able to work, and refuse so to do, the Justice shall order him or her to be whipt on the naked Back, not exceeding Thirty-nine Lashes, and after sent from Parish to Parish by the Constables of the same, the next strait Way to the Parish where he or she dwelt for one whole Year last past; and in like manner, they shall convey poor and impotent Vagrants to the Place of their last Abode.

Provided, no such Persons, as abovesaid, shall be returned, if they have dwelt in the Parish above the Space of three Months.

Constable, or Tything-man neglecting his Duty herein, shall forfeit 40 s. for every Default, one half to the Church-wardens for the Poor of the Parish, the other to the Informer, to be recovered before any Justice of Peace.

The Church-wardens of each Parish in this Island, with the Assent of any two Justices in that Precinct, may bind any poor Children of the said Apprentices, where they shall see convenient; Males till twenty one Years of Age, and Females till eighteen, or the time of their Marriage, to be as effectual as if such Child were of such Age, and by Indenture of Covenant bound him to herself.

Besides the collecting a great many of these Laws, there was little else happened remarkable during the Government of Sir *Thomas Lynch*: He was zealous against the Pyrates, and several Men of War were employed by him, for no other Purpose but to scour the Coasts, and clear the *American* Seas of these desperate Men, who yet continued to plunder. The Ships of War had indifferent Success; several *French* Privateers fell into their Hands,

Hands, and were destroyed. The *Spaniards* now likewise began to exert their Courage, and appeared with greater Freedom and Spirit; they attacked some Pyrate Sloops of *Carthagena*, and destroyed them; but the Governor's Death put a Stop to further Severities of this Kind.

I am, S I R, Yours, &c.

LETTER VIII.

S I R,

TO Sir *Thomas Lynch* succeeded Col. *Hender Molefworth*, a Man of great Worth and Honour, whom King *William* afterwards created a Baronet. This Gentleman behaved to the universal Satisfaction of the Island; his Deportment was courteous, he was easy of Access, given to no Vice or Extravagance, and effectually recommended himself to every one by a sincere upright Conduct: In his Time the Laws were well executed; Trade revived, and the Colony was at Peace, and happy: He was a Man of moderate Principles, nor expressed any manner of Disregard to those who differed from the established Opinions.

The *Jews* began about this time to make a considerable Figure; their Numbers daily increased, and as they understood Trade better than any of the Planters or Merchants could pretend to do, the Governor found it necessary to encourage that People: They were allowed many Privileges, and had a Permission to erect Synagogues, and perform Divine Worship according to their own Forms. Whether or not such Encouragement was good Policy, I shall not determine, nor have I time to enumerate the Advantages and Disadvantages that accrue to the Island from them: I can't therefore
form

form a Judgment on the Matter ; but it is certain, their Industry and Moderation may serve as a Pattern, and shew that Excess of any kind is incompatible with the Interests of a Trader ; at the same time their little roguish Tricks are such, that prove very detrimental to any Society in which they live.

In this Gentleman's Government King *Charles II.* died, of whose Death as soon as he got Notice, he proclaimed the Duke of *York*, first at *St. Jago*, and then with the same Solemnity at *Port-Royal* : The Council and Assembly met, and a very loyal Address was transmitted to the King, which was graciously received.

At this time, the small Remains, of the old Privateers were almost intirely cut off ; In 1639, at the Instigation of the *Indians*, they landed, and were put to the greatest Distress ; they were not only deserted, but their Retreat intirely cut off, by which means all that Company quite perished. At the same time, the *French* King sent express Orders to all the Governors of the *French* Colonies, to pursue them with the utmost Severity. By this means, these brave Fellows, who had so long carried their Fortune on their Swords, and been engaged in so many hazardous Exploits, who could not endure a peaceable quiet Life, nor desist from Robberies and Plundering, were quite extirpated ; nor hear we any more about them, till the War broke out betwixt *France* and *England*, when the former Method was again resumed, but with less Glory and Success.

In 1687, a Post-Office was first erected in *Jamaica*, and Mr. *James Wade* made Post-Master ; This, tho' well designed, and might have served excellent Purposes, yet had very little Effect. The Place is now, however, well supplied, and Letters regularly dispatched ; Mr. *Macfarlane* is present Post-Master, a Gentleman of Honour and Probity.

The same Year *Christopher Duke of Albemarle* was appointed Governor of *Jamaica*. It was given out, that this Nobleman was sent hither, as to a kind of Banishment for his Zeal against Popery: But whatever his Grace's Friends may say of the matter, there are few but ascribed it to another Cause. He had his Eye on the Riches of the Island, and his Fortune being impaired, he judged the readiest way to restore it, would be to accept of such a fine Government, where he could have many easy Opportunities to advance his Interests. He set out from *Spithead* in the *Assistance* Man of War, together with his Lady, and a vast Retinue on board, and arrived at *Jamaica* in the *January* following.

On *Sunday* the 19th of *February* 1687, there was an Earthquake in *Jamaica*: It came by Shocks; there were three of them, with a little Pause between; it lasted about a Minute's time in all, and was accompanied with a small Noise; it was generally felt all over the Island; some Houses were cracked, and very near ruined, others uncovered of their Tiles; very few escaped some Injury, and the People were every where in a great Consternation; the Ships in the Harbour of *Port-Royal* felt it, and one that was Eastward of the Island, coming hither from *Europe*, met with a Hurricane at the same time: A Gentleman declared, that he saw the Ground rise like the Sea in a Wave, as the Earthquake passed along; and then it went Northward.

While the Duke of *Albemarle* was Governor, little occurred worth Notice: A Proclamation was published, for the more effectual reducing and suppressing Pyrates and Privateers in *America*; but this was little else than mere Matter of Form, for they were quite rooted out before this Time.

Sir *Hans Sloane*, Bart. the present President of the Royal Society, attended his Grace as Physician.

cian in Ordinary ; and it was at this time he made that admirable *Collection of Plants, &c.* which he since published.

The Duke did not long enjoy his new Government ; the Alteration of the Climate, and drinking a little too hard, hastened his Death. His Body was embalmed, and brought to *England* in the same Ship in which the Dutchess (afterwards Dutchess of *Montague*) returned.

Colonel *Hender Molefworth* was made Governor anew, About this time the Revolution happened in *England* : King *William's* Title was acknowledged here, and he and Queen *Mary* were joyfully proclaimed. There was an Agreement made this Year between the *English* and *Spaniards*, for a Trade in Negroes, between *Jamaica* and the *Spanish West-Indies* : This Treaty was managed by *Don Santiago del Castillo* in *London*. The King of *Spain* afterwards appointed this Gentleman to be Commissary-General at *Jamaica*, for supplying the *Spanish West-Indies* with Slaves : Before he left *London*, King *William* conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon him, and he was afterwards known by the Name of Sir *James Castile*. He came to this Place, where his good Conduct gained him universal Esteem : He lived many Years, and acquired several fine Estates, which go by his Name to this Day.

In 1690. the Earl of *Inchiquin* was appointed Governor, who soon after arrived. In his Time the Negroes began to make Disturbances ; the Runaways, and those descended of the *Spanish* Slaves, who were never conquered, began to make Irruptions : They came down and robbed the nearest Plantations, committing, at the same time unheard of Barbarities ; they had such a sure Retreat, that all Endeavours to draw them from it, were in vain. Several Parties attempted to dislodge them, but it proved ineffectual ; and the

poor white Men were either miserably butchered, or returned quite spent with the intolerable Fatigue. This bad Success encouraged Gentlemen's Slaves, to rebel. An universal Disposition to this, appeared amongst the Negroes: However, such effectual Care was taken to prevent their getting Arms, and other Methods contrived to hinder any Insurrection, that they stirred in no Place, but only in Mr. Sutton's Plantation, where Four hundred of them broke out into Rebellion, and having forced the House, murdered their Master, and every white Man that belonged to the Plantation, seized upon Fifty Muskets, Blunderbusses, and other Arms, together with a great Quantity of Powder and Shot, four small Field-pieces, and other Provisions. They marched to the next Plantation, where they repeated their Murders, and killed every white they could find.

The Alarm was immediately given to the adjacent Quarters, and fifty Horse and Foot marched to attack them: By this means their further Progress was stopped and their Design of joining the other Rebels prevented; for all the Plantations round were on their Guard; and as a certain Terror ever attends Guilt, they had not Courage, notwithstanding their vast Superiority in Number, to dispute their Passage; but retired back, and prepared to defend themselves in Mr. Sutton's great House: They had not been long there, till a good Body of Men came and attacked them; nor did they long defend themselves, but fled, doing all the Mischief in their Power, as they made off, firing the Cane-pieces: but a Party of white Men fell on their Rear, routed and pursued them several Miles. Many of the Blacks were killed, and Two hundred of them threw down their Arms, and submitted; the rest were afterwards either killed or taken. The Loss of white Men was only sixteen, besides those who were murdered on the first Rising. Of the Blacks near two hundred were destroyed;

destroyed ; and tho' some were pardoned, yet most of those who had submitted, met with that Fate which they well deserved.

A little before this, the War broke out betwixt *England* and *France* ; and as King *William* was the Head of that great Confederacy, and gave Life and Soul to their Counsels, he took care to wound the *French* in the most sensible Parts. Their *West-India* Colonies were a shure Fund, whence every Year a great Part of *Europe* was supplied with those valuable Commodities which they produced ; it became therefore so wise and great a King, to endeavour to stop the Source of Riches, which was so prejudicial to the Nation which he governed. To effect this, he sent several Men of War to *Jamaica*, to be employed at the Discretion of the Governor. My Lord *Inchiquin* received likewise exprefs Orders to exert himself on this important Occasion ; he therefore sent the *Swan* and *Guernsey* Men of War, with the *Quaker* Ketch, to destroy what *French* Ships they could find on the Coast. Mr. *Obryan* was Chief in this Expedition, and behaved admirably well: He destroyed the *French* Settlements in *Hispaniola*, and took a great many Ships, which he carried in as Prizes to *Jamaica*.

But, at a time when the Island was full of gay Hopes, wallowing in Riches, and abandoned to Wickedness; the most dreadful Calamity befel it, that ever happened to a People, and which many look upon as a tremendous Judgment of the Almighty.

On the 7th of *June* 1692, one of the most violent Earthquakes happened, that perhaps was ever felt. It began between Eleven and Twelve o'Clock at Noon, shook down and drowned Nine Tenths of *Port-Royal* in Two Minutes time ; all the Warfs at *Port-Royal* sunk at once. There were soon several Fathom Water where the Streets stood ; and that one which suffered the least Damage, was
so

so overflowed, that the Water swelled as high as the upper Rooms of the Houses. The Earth, when it opened, swallowed up People, and they rose in other Streets, some in the Middle of the Harbour, and yet were saved; tho' at the same time, about 2000 Whites and Blacks perished in this Town. In the North-side, about 1000 Acres of Land sunk, and thirteen People with it. All the Houses was thrown down over the Island, and the surviving Inhabitants were forced to dwell in Huts. The two great Mountains, at the Entrance into *Sixteen-Milk-Wale*, fell and met, and so stopped up the River, that it was dry from that Place to the Ferry for a whole Day; by which means vast Quantities of Fish were taken up, to the great Relief of the Distressed.

At *Yellows* a great Mountain split, and fell into the level Land, covered several Settlements, and destroyed nineteen white People. A Gentleman had his Plantation removed half a Mile from the Place where it formerly stood. The Water of all the Wells flew out at the Top.

In *Port-Royal*, the Watermen and Sailors made no Scruple to plunder; but Heaven punished the wicked Attempt; for a second Shock destroyed most of these Wretches, whose Consciences so great a preceding Judgment could not alarm.

When the first great Shake was over, the frightened Inhabitants crowded to the Church, glad to put up a Prayer in this Extremity, tho' perhaps they never had attempted it in their Lives before; and amongst them, a Multitude of *Jews* devoutly kneeled, and called upon the Name of *Jesus*.

Almost all the Ships and Sloops were overset and lost in the Harbour; nor had even the Men of War a better Fate. The violent Motion of the Sea drove the *Swan* Frigate over the Tops of many Houses, and beat in her Round-House; she did not overset, which happy Accident help-
ed.

ed to save the Lives of some hundreds of People.

A great and hideous Noise was heard in the Mountains ; several runaway Negroes were so terrified, that they became good, and returned to their Masters ; the Salt-pans were quite overflowed, the Water forced its Passage from twenty to thirty Places, and came out with such Violence, that had so many Sluices been drawn up at once, they could not have run with greater Force.

The Inhabitants of *Spanish-Town*, imagining the *Rio Cobre* was lost, thought of removing ; but in a few Days, the River having forced its Passage another way, their Fears and Apprehensions vanished.

The Shake was stronger in the Country than in the Town ; the Mountains split, all Plantations and every House were destroyed ; from the Openings whole Rivers spouted out to a vast Height in the Air, accompanied with Stenches and offensive Smells.

But *Port-Royal*, the finest Town in the *West-Indies*, and at that time the richest Spot in the Universe, was almost entirely destroyed : So that in the Place where rich Merchants lived, and fine Warehouses stood, now is twenty Fathom Water.

Several Gentlemen of undoubted Honour, who were in *Liganita*, reported, That the Sea retired so from the Land, that the Bottom appeared dry for two or three hundred Yards ; and in a Minute or two's Time it returned and overflowed a great Part of the adjacent Shore.

The Number of People who perished on this fatal Day was upwards of three thousand. A general Sickness happened after, which cut off a great many more ; and the Island became so unhealthful, that to this Day it is never looked upon

on to be so wholesome as before. Every 7th of June is appointed to be observed as a Day of solemn Fasting and Humiliation, on account of this terrible Disaster.

This gave Rise to the flourishing Town of *Kingston*, which began at this time to be first inhabited; for *Port-Royal* being in a manner desolate, the principal Merchants removed further up, and began to build; which, by degrees, soon gave the new Settlement the Face of a Town; it has been improved since, to such a Pitch, that it can almost vie with the antient *Port-Royal*. But for a further Account of this Earthquake, and the dreadful Devastation it made, I refer you to the *Philosophical Transactions*.

Altho' *Jamaica* suffered most, yet this terrible Shock was not confined to this Island alone; it was almost universal, and felt near at the same time in the most Parts of the habitable World.

The Enemies of *Great Britain* were not idle Spectators of such a dreadful Event; the *French* proposed to make an easy Conquest of a ruined Island, where Poverty, Sickneis, and every Hardship prevailed: So much was *Jamaica* changed: They invaded the Place with sure Hope of Success; but tho' the Inhabitants had so many Difficulties to struggle with, yet they still retained their pristine Spirit, and native Courage; the Invaders were repulsed, add only Eighteen of them left to carry the News of their Defeat.

Soon after, the Lord *Inchiquin* died, and King *William* conferred the Government on Sir *William Beeston*. This Gentleman arrived in *Jamaica* in *March* 1693, and set himself on reforming a great many Abuses, which the late Distractions had occasioned: Agents were appointed for soliciting the Colony's Affairs in *England*, to whom was allowed 450 *l. per Annum*.

This Year the *Mordaunt* Man of War was cast away on the Rocks near *Cuba*; and soon after the

the Frigate was taken by two *French* Men of War, and carried into *Petit Guaves*, where the Enemy were making Preparations to invade the Island. The Governor had the first certain Advice of this from Captain *Elliot*, who escaped with two Persons besides, in a Canoe, which could carry no more.

On this Notice, all proper Precautions were taken, and every thing done that was necessary to put the Island into a good Posture of Defence. The principal Part of the Forces were posted about *Port-Royal*, and all Parts were guarded in such a manner, as their Circumstances could best allow.

On the 17th of *June* 1694, the *French* Fleet, consisting of about twenty Sail in all, commanded by M. *Du Casse*, the *French* Governor in *Hispaniola*, came to *Cow-Bay* seven Leagues East of *Port-Royal*, where they landed their Men and plundered several Plantations; they committed a great many Barbarities, and afterwards returned to their Ships; they arrived in *Carlisle-Bay*, and landed 1500 Men, who attacked a Breast-work that was defended by two hundred *English*. After a very smart Engagement, the Enemy had the Advantage, and beat the *English*, who fled in some Disorder. In the mean time, five Companies of Foot and some Horse, advanced against the *French*; they were so spirited against them, that tho' they had marched all Night, they not only put a Stop to their Pursuit of the *English*, who had quitted the Breast-work, but attacked them in so gallant a manner, that they made them retreat very precipitately. Several small Skirmishes happened after, by which means the *French* lost a great many Men, and some of their best Officers: This discouraged them from proceeding in the Enterprize; and having silently, under the Cover of Night, reembarked their Men, they
set

set the Prisoners ashore, and sailed homewards. They lost upwards 700 Men in this Expedition. On the Side of the *English*, there were only killed about 100, and most of these were *Jews* and *Negroes*. Captain *Elliot*, who first gave Notice of this Invasion, had a Medal and Chain given him of 100 *l.* Value, and 500 *l.* in Money; and the other Two, who came in the same *Canoe*, had 50 *l.* a Piece.

The next Year King *William* dispatched a Squadron under the Command of Captain *Willmot*, with 1200 Land-Forces aboard, under Col. *Luke Lillingston*, with Orders to make an Attempt upon the *French* in *Hispaniola*. The Governor of *Jamaica* gave them all possible Assistance; nor were the *Spaniards* backward in giving Aid on this Occasion. The *Spanish* and *English* Forces joined, and ruined all the *French* Settlements: A vast Plunder was carried off; but the treacherous Commodore, who had other Views than serving his King and Country with that Fidelity which his Trust required, left the Soldiers destitute of all manner of Provisions, and exposed to the most intollerable Hardships; however, the Courage of the Officers something repaired this Disadvantage: They marched boldly on, and attacked *Port de Paix*. At the same time the Commodore, with about 400 Seamen, formed a sham Siege on the other Side: The Place was carried by the Land forces; for the *French* finding themselves hard pressed, broke through the Commodore's Party, killed a great many, and escaped. The Fort was demolished, and the Remains of the *English* Forces were carried to *Jamaica*, where most of them died. Nor did the avaritious Commodore live to enjoy his ill-got Booty; he died in his Return to *England*.——May never Villains have a better Fate!

By this means the *French* were dispirited, that they never after made any open Attempt on *Jamaica*. M. *Pointi*, with a *French* Squadron, in the Year 1696, made a Feint of attacking this Island; but was glad to get off, when he saw the Inhabitants so well prepared to receive him: Admiral *Nevill* pursued him, and took one of the richest Ships belonging to his Squadron, which was worth about 200,000 *l.* Sterl. The brave Admiral died in *August* after; and at the same time, no less than seven Captains of Men of War, together with a vast Number of private Men; their Death being occasioned by the Heat and the unhealthful Climate.

'Tis natural to the *French* to talk big, and do little: The very next Year they gave out, that they would invade *Jamaica*: Sir *William Beeston*, on this Advice, dispatched Captain *Moses* in a Sloop, who landed, and brought off a Prisoner, one *Grumbles*. This Fellow was a Native of *Jamaica*, and had instigated the *French* to plunder and destroy his native Country. The Intelligence he gave, discovered the Enemies Measures, and made them drop their Design. After which he was deservedly hanged, altho' the *French* threatened to do the same to Captain *Price*, Commander of a *London* Ship, whom they kept Prisoner at *Petit Guaves*.

In the Year 1698, the *Scots* were carrying on their Settlement at *Darien*, and had fortified *Golden Island*, at the Bottom of the Gulf, where the Isthmus between that and the *South-Sea* is so narrow, that a few Men might defend it against Multitudes, and deny all Passage that way to the *Indies*. I shall not pretend to justify the several Steps taken by King *William* to defeat that Design: 'Tis certain, never was a Colony harder used, or begun with a fairer View: If the Government had political Views in falsifying its Engagements, I shall not determine; but *Scotland*

received such a Wound, that I'm afraid it will never recover. Orders were sent to the several Governors of the *West-Indies*, strictly prohibiting to give the *Scots* any Supply. The Governor of *Jamaica* was obliged to comply with this severe Injunction: The poor *Scots* were treated like common Pyrates, were denied the Necessaries of Life, Wood and Water, and every thing else, which the Law of Nations obliges one Part of Mankind to supply another with. They set out, persuaded of necessary Assistance; for this, they had the Faith of the King; but how little is even that to be depended upon, when Interest turns the Ballance! two Ships, which contained a Number of half-starved dying Creatures, that were refused Access to any Port, and reduced to the greatest Exigencies and Necessity, by Famine and Sicknes, run ashore upon the Coast of *Jamaica*, where the greatest Part died, yet several lived to make fine Estates in this Place. Colonel *Guthrie* died but a few Years ago; he acquired a great Fortune, and arrived at the first Honours in the Island. Colonel *Blair* came over much about this time; he was by Profession a Surgeon, and soon recommended himself to the Esteem of all, and made one of the handsomest Fortunes in the Island, with an intire fair Character: He died in the Year 1728. *Custos* of *Spanish-Town*, and the first Colonel of all the Militia. His Good-nature and fine Sense gained him such universal Esteem that few ever lived more respected, or died more regretted. He has left a Son now in *England* for Education, and three Daughters, whose fine Behaviour, polite Education, and good Sense make them very justly admired by all that know or see them. Colonel *Dowdall* is yet alive, who came over in one of these Ships. This Gentleman was an Officer at the Battle of the *Boyne*, and behaved with uncommon
Courage

Courage in the Royal Cause. He attended his Majesty on his triumphant Entry into *Dublin*; afterwards, he came to *Scotland* with the brave General *Mackay*, and was engaged at *Gillicranky*. He remained there till the *Darien* Company offered him extraordinary Encouragement to command their Forces: On this he dropped his Commission, embarked with the rest, and was at last involved in the same general Misfortune. On his Arrival here, he applied himself to the Business of an Overseer, but his good Parts could not lie long concealed; he soon raised himself, was distinguished by the successive Governors, and now enjoys a fine Estate, and the first Honours of the Island. Another Gentleman, who likewise deserves particular Notice, came to *Jamaica* at this time; I mean Colonel *Campbell*, one who still lives, and in all the Parts of Life, has behaved so agreeably, that few Instances can be shewn in this Part of the World, of such an untainted Character. He is at present † *Custos* of the Parish of *St. Elizabeth*.

In the Year 1699, the brave Admiral *Bembow* arrived at *Jamaica* with a Squadron of Men of War; but a mortal Distemper carried off a great many of the Officers, and an incredible number of the Seamen; by which means this active Commander was obliged to lie still, and wait for Recruits, before he could undertake any Expedition.

This Year there were several Losses at Sea, and the Governor Sir *William Beeston* died. Major-General *Selwyn* was appointed in his Room in April 1701. The Squadron of Men of War was now recruited and *Bembow* discharged.

† This Gentleman died since this Letter was written, viz. Jan. 26. 1739-40. greatly regretted by the whole Island.

his Trust in such a manner as became so vigilant and brave a Commander. He continually cruized on the Coasts, and secured the *British* Trade to this Place, in such a Way as was never done before, nor has been since.

Lewis XIV. having seized the *Spanish* Dominions, in Right of his Grandson, their Territories in *America* fell of Course into his Hands. This occasioned that long and bloody War, in which all *Europe* was concerned, and which ended by the Peace of *Utrecht*. King *William* died the following Year, and the new Governor whom he had appointed in *Jamaica*, did not long survive his Arrival. The Council elected in his Room, *Peter Beckford*, Esq; This Gentleman governed at the Time of King *William's* Death, and joyfully proclaimed Queen *Anne*. He distinguished himself first against the *French*, and his opulent Fortune gained him a Superiority over most of the Planters. He died in a very unhappy manner, and left behind him two Sons, one whereof lived to be the richest Subject in *Europe*. He has twenty two Plantations in this Island, and upwards of 1200 Slaves. His Money in the Banks, and on Mortgages, is reckoned at a Million and a half. His other Son was lately killed by a Gentleman whom he had provoked.

On Queen *Anne's* Accession, the War with *France* broke out anew. Admiral *Bombow*, on this, immediately set Sail, and insulted the *French*, and their new Confederates; the *Spaniards*, in their own Ports in *America*. He took many Prizes, and was still successful till the last, when he engaged with *M. du Cassé*; whom indeed he beat, but through the Cowardice of his Captains, was obliged to desist from the Fight before he had effected the total Destruction of the *French* Squadron. He had the Misfortune in this Engagement to have his Leg broke by a Chain-shot of which Wound he died soon after.

Two of his Captains, *Kirby* and *Wade*, were tried for their Cowardice, and condemned to be shot to Death. *Hudson*, another, died before his Trial: and a fourth Captain *Constable* was cashier'd from her Majesty's Service, and condemned to Imprisonment during her Royal Pleasure.

This Year the Queen was pleased to appoint the Right Honourable the Earl of *Peterborough* to be Governor of *Jamaica*, and gave him larger Powers than ever one in that Station enjoyed. Why he did not go, is a Question cannot be answered. However, a Squadron, went to *Jamaica*, which did a great deal of Service to this Island.

The Merchants thought this a proper Opportunity to renew the Privateering-trade. They fitted out a great many Ships and Sloops, Nine or Ten of which attacked a Place, called *Talow*, on the Continent, about ten Leagues from *Carthage*, which they took, plundered and burned. From thence they sailed to *Caledonia*, went up the River *Darien*, and persuaded the *Indians* to be their Guides, who in twelve Days, carried them to the golden Mines at *Sancta Cruz Decana*, near *Sancta Maria*.

The 9th Day of their March, the fell in with an Out-guard of ten Men, which the *Spaniards* had posted at some Distance from the Place, of whom they took Nine; but the other escaping, gave Notice at the Minutes of their Approach; upon which the richest of the Inhabitants retired with their Money and Jewels: However the *English* to the Number of 500 Men attacked the Fort, drove out the *Spaniards*, and possessed themselves of the Mines, where there remained about Seventy Negroes, whom they set to work, and continued there twenty one Days, in which time they got about Eighty Pounds Weight of Gold Dust; they also found several Parcels of Plate, which

which the *Spaniards* had buried when they left that Place. The *English* at their Departure, burned all the Town, except the Church, and returned to their Sloops, carrying off the Negroes, and other very valuable Effects besides their Gold Dust. Some went further up the River, and two of the Privateers landed near *Trinidad* in *Cuba*, took the Town, burned Part of it, and brought off a considerable Booty.

I am S I R, Yours, &c.

LETTER IX.

S I R,

I Shall now continue my Relation. The following Year Colonel *Thomas Handaside* was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of *Jamaica*; he was looked upon as a brave Officer, and indeed his resolute and steady Behaviour, during his Government, shewed no less.

Soon after his Arrival, *Port-Royal*, which was lately rebuilt, and had begun to shine with its antient Glory, met with as fatal a Stroke as before, by the dreadful Earthquake: For the 9th of *Jannary* 1703-4, between eleven and twelve in the Morning, a Fire happened thro' Carelessness in this Town, which before Night consumed it, without leaving one House standing. The Place being situated on a small Neck of Land surrounded in a great Measure by the Sea, and the Streets and Lanes being narrow, the People could not save so much of their Goods, as they might have done in a more open Place; however, the two Royal Forts and Magazines did not receive any Damage, nor any of the Ships at Anchor, except one Brigantine and Sloop which were burnt. Most of the Merchants

saved

saved their Money, and Books of Accounts, and some of them considerable Quantities of Merchandize, by the Assistance of Boats from the Men of War.

The Governor on this sad Occasion, summoned the Assembly to meet at *Kingston*, recommended to them the Case of the poor Inhabitants, and acquainted them, that by Advice of the Council he had made some Disbursements for that End; several Barrels of Beef, Flour, and fresh Provisions having been sent to them. Upon this Information the Assembly unanimously resolved; that they would reimburse the Treasury, what had been, or should be expended for the Relief and Support of the distressed People, and prayed the Governor and Council to continue their Care of them. They also with the Concurrence of the Lieutenant-Governor, took such further Resolutions as were necessary for the Safety and Welfare of this Island in this Exigency. They voted that *Port-Royal* should not be rebuilt, but that the People should remove to *Kingston*, where already the Streets were laid out, and where there were a great many Inhabitants. *Port-Royal* continued, a long time after this, a mere Heap of Rubbish; but it was afterwards rebuilt, and is now a small handsome Town.

Vice-Admiral *Graydon* was appointed to succeed *Bembow*; but before his Arrival, Captain *Whetstone* made a successful Expedition, took and destroyed a great many *French* and *Spanish* Ships in their very Harbours, and brought away 110 Prisoners, with a considerable Booty.

At this time there happened an universal Sickness over the Island, which carried off a vast Number of People, but especially of the late-arrived Sailors and Soldiers; for two thousand had come with *Graydon's* Squadron.

On *Shrove Tuesday*, a Shake of an Earthquake was felt at *Kingston*, but did very little Damage.

The repeated Success of the Men of War and Privateers, during this War, was incredible ; not a Day passed, but Prizes were brought in ; which shews us how advantageously this Island is situated, for anoying both *French* and *Spaniards*, in case of a War. A wise Government will improve such an Advantage, and were it but done in any the least vigorous manner, *Jamaica* would be a Means of keeping the *Spaniards* quiet in the *West-Indies* ; but at present the Hands of every one are tied up, and they can only complain, when they see themselves insulted by the rascally cruel *Spaniards*, who well know the Situation of the Colony, and that they dare not make Reprisals. But to return :

Rear-Admiral *Whetstone*, having left the Island, deputed Captain *Ker* to command the Squadron in his room ; but he abused his Trust so grossly, that the Council and Assembly were obliged to make Representations against him to the Court of *Great-Britain*. Orders were given to inquire into the Facts alledged against him ; which being found true, Justice was done, and his Commission was taken from him, without leaving him any Hopes of his ever being employed in the Service again.

During the time of the War, the People of this Island were intent on nothing so much as encouraged the Privateers ; and tho' sometimes they suffered considerable Losses, yet the many rich Prizes, which were daily brought in, made a sufficient Return. The Island became richer than it had been since *Morgan's Days* ; by which means, Luxury was too much introduced, the Effects of which are felt to this Day.

The Assembly began likewise to be refractory, shewed too little Respect to the Governor, and claimed

claimed extraordinary Powers. They refused the necessary Supplies for maintaining the Forts, and defraying the publick Expences of the Island. The Governor, on this Occasion, acted a bold and resolute Part; for, on their refusing to dissolve, on a Message he had sent them, he drew his Sword, and swore an Oath he wou'd soon disperse them. He went to the House; the affrighted Planters immediately run out; and one of the most considerable, being in too great a Hast, fell down the Stairs, and broke his Neck.

I hear of nothing else remarkable during this Government. On the Conclusion of the Peace, a new Set of Privateers infested the *American* Seas.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* was next made Governor. The Gentlemen here make very free with his Character; but as I don't pretend to form a Judgment on the Matter, and the whole Fact being published, with relation to his Conduct in the Affair of the *Bhama* Wrecks, I leave it to the Judgment of the Publick. He was recalled, after he had met with very hard Usage here, and *Peter Haywood*, Esq; appointed in his room. This Gentleman did long continue in the Government; Sir *Nicholas Laques* succeeded him. In the Year 1722. Aug. 28, a violent Hurricane happened, which did incredible Damage to the Island. The Assembly met, and appointed every 28th of Aug. as a Day of solemn Fasting and Humiliation, to be observed for ever. Indeed it must be acknowledged, that the 7th of *June*, (the Day on which the dreadful Earthquake happened, which is likewise by Authority observed sacred) and the 28th of *August*, are most devoutly kept. The People put on, upon those Days, at least, the exterior Shew of Religion, and they may be called the only two Holy-days in the Year; for they hardly distinguish *Sunday* from any other.

At this time, the famous *Edward Teach*, commonly known by the Name of *Blackbeard*, infested the *American Seas*. He was one of a most bloody Disposition, and cruel to Brutality. His Name became a Terror; and some Governors being remiss in pursuing him, he almost put a Stop to the Trade of several of the Northern Colonies. He was born in *Jamaica*, of very creditable Parents; his Mother is alive in *Spanish-Town* to this Day, and his Brother is at present Captain of the Train of Artillery. He was attacked by a Lieutenant of a Man of War, and was killed, after a very obstinate and bloody Fight. He took a Glass, and drank *Damnation* to them that gave or asked Quarter. His Head was carried to *Virginia*, and there fixed on a Pole.

To Sir *Nicholas Law* succeeded his Grace the Duke of *Portland*: He came to *Jamaica* with his Dutches and Family, in the Year 1725, and was received with all imaginable Pomp and Splendor. The Assembly voted him a double Salary, to whatever a Governor before enjoyed. This generous Nobleman lived in a most polite manner, and never did a Governor recommend himself more or kept such a handsome Court. He was remarkably civil, of easy Access, and affable to all. The Island grudged no Expence to oblige him; and if any Fault can be at all found with his Government, it is only this, that the Planters, who could not well afford such extraordinary Expences, spent too profusely, endeavouring to imitate the Duke.

Soon after his Arrival, the King of the *Majquetoes*, attended by a good many of his Subjects, came over and waited on his Grace. These are a Nation of *Indians*, situated betwixt *Truxillo* and *Honduras*; they submitted themselves to *England*, in the Time that the Duke of *Albemarle* was Governor of *Jamaica*: They were never

never conquered, but still maintained their Liberties, in spite of all the Attempts which the *Spaniards* made upon them, which only served to exasperate them the more against that proud Nation to whom they are implacable Enemies, and are always doing Mischief. They have little to fear themselves, seeing their Country is surrounded by inaccessible Mountains and Morasses. By their Commerce with the *English*, they have learned a little of the Language: The *Spaniards* they call *Little-Breeches*, and whenever they fall in their Way, murder them, which they call *hiding* them. They are a mild inoffensive sort of People, never forfeit their Word, have only one Wife, and have the highest Veneration for the Ceremony of Marriage. They adore the Sun. When any of them die, they put them in a Mat, and place them strait with their Face to the East. The King has his Commission from the Governor of *Jamaica*; and therefore, on every new Governor's Arrival, they come over to know his Pleasure. During their Stay, they are maintained at the publick Expence, and cloathed in a very rich Dress. When they depart, they have a few trifling Presents made them, with which they are extremely well satisfied.

Great Advantage might be made of the friendly Disposition of this People, in case of a War with *Spain*; and it is not to be doubted but in case of a Rupture, the Government will improve so fair an Opportunity of advancing the Interests of the *British* Nation, and its Colonies.

But to proceed with my History: The Duke of *Portland* received his *Indian* Majesty with a great deal of Courtesy; and having invited him to dine with him, they relate that the poor King knew not which Way to go up Stairs, but jumped up Step by Step. He likewise used such indecent Expressions that the Dutchess was obliged to
remove

remove from Table. However he was dismissed very civilly, and went home to his Subjects, proud of his good Entertainment.

The Duke lived not long in this Government; but dying in the Island, his Corpse was carried back to *England*. To him succeeded Major General *Hunter*: On his Arrival, an Embargo was laid on all the Shipping, which proved of infinite Disadvantage to the Island. Several necessary Laws were made for suppressing the rebellious Negroes: And as it was then feared, that the Island abounded with vast Numbers of disguised Papists, an Act was made, obliging all from Sixteen to Sixty, to abjure the Church of *Rome* openly. This occasioned great Heats, but the Governor's Party prevailed. He died in *March* in the Year 1734.

The Honourable *John Ascough*, Esq; commanded, till his Majesty's Pleasure should be known: And at this time, the rebellious Negroes had been very troublesome, it was found necessary to employ the whole Strength of the Island to reduce them. The Exercise of Civil Law was suspended, and the Martial took Place. Strong Parties were ordered out under proper Commanders; that under Captain *Stoddart* attacked *Nauny Town* in the *Blue Mountains*, which had been built by the Rebels, and was so situated, that a few Men might defend it against Thousands. The Captain was therefore obliged to carry along with him several small Field-pieces, and likewise to make his Approach with the greatest Caution, and without the least Noise. He got before Night to the Foot of the Hill, and while it was yet dark, scaled the narrow Passage with a few of the most resolute of his Company; and having, with the utmost Difficulty, got the Field-pieces mounted on the Eminence, began to play upon the Negroe Town. The
Pieces

Pieces were loaded with Musket Bullets, which killed and wounded a vast Number of the Rebels, who offered to make a Defence. They did not long sustain the Attack ; but in less than half an Hour fled with the utmost Precipitation. The brave Captain pursued the Rebels, and gained a complete Victory. Several Hundreds of Negroes were killed, and many taken Prisoners. Their Town was demolished, their Provisions destroyed, and more real Hurt done them on that Day, than in twenty Years before, and with little or no Loss of the Party who attacked them.

In other Quarters of the Island, they were likewise hard pursued, but not with the like Success. At *Bagnels*, the Negroes had the Courage to attack a large Party, under the Command of Colonel *Edward Charleton*, and Captain *Ivy* ; these Gentlemen did not take Care to keep the Party which they commanded in good Order, but allowed them to straggle. The Rebels had very good Intelligence of their Circumstances, and watched their Opportunity accordingly. They placed an Ambuscade, and when the Officers were at Dinner, and few of the Party near, rushed out, and attacked the Hut where they were. Several Pieces were discharged, which killed a few ; but the Firing had this good Effect that it alarmed those of the Party which were nearest, who immediately stood to their Arms, and came up just in time to save the Lives of their Officers. The Negroes fled, but the Pursuit after them was so faint, they soon lost Sight of them ; and it was not known which Way they took : And as *Spanish-Town*, was only about thirty Miles Distance, the Alarm reached there, that the Rebels were making that Way. The President received the Account about one o' Clock in the Morning, and immediately ordered the Trumpets to sound, and the Drums to beat : Before Six, a Fresh Party of Foot, and a Troop

of Horse, were ordered out to support the other, in case they should have Occasion; and care was taken they should be commanded by Officers of more experienced Bravery.

In two Days they came up to a Place, where, by the Fires which remained unextinguished, they knew the Negroes had lodged the Night before; and having followed the Track, got Sight of them soon after. Captain *Edmunds* disposed his Men for an Engagement, but the Rebels had not Courage to venture a Battle. They dispersed, and fled several Ways; However, a good many were killed, and more taken.

After this, little was done against them; nor indeed was it possible, for they divided into small Companies; nor have they ever since gathered to any considerable Body.

In the *April* after this, a very accidental Murder was committed, which produced one of the most extraordinary Trials that ever was in *Jamaica*: A trifling Quarrel arose between two Gentlemen: The one, whose Name was Mr. *Stevens*, a considerable Merchant in *Kingston*, had affronted Mr. *Vale*, a Barrister at Law. Some Gentlemen were too ready to incense them; and Mr. *Vale*, having met with the other one Morning, in the Coffee-house, beat him with a small Stick; they afterwards grappled, and in the Fall, Mr. *Stevens's* Head dashed upon a Stone, which occasioned a Fracture, and he died soon after. Mr. *Vale* was brought to his Trial, which lasted near twelve Hours. He spoke with great Vivacity himself, but the Jury after they had been inclosed near two Days, brought him in guilty of Murder, and he was condemned to be hang'd. But he prevented the ignominious Fate which threatened him, by a more ignominious Action, cutting his own Throat the Night before the Day appointed for his Execution.

Soon

Soon after the President died, and the Honourable *John Gregory*, Esq; succeeded him in the Government. He was formerly Chief Justice, and maintained a fair Character in all the Offices which he has had the Honour to enjoy.

In *December* following arrived his Excellency *Henry Cunningham* of *Balquhan*, Esq; a Gentleman who did Honour to his Country, whose fine Sense and good Parts reflected a Glory on the *British* Nation; tho' Governor, yet he never lost the Affability of a private Gentleman. Never was one more beloved or carressed, or with greater Justness. He knew the Blessings of Liberty; and, had he lived, would have redressed many grievances under which the poor laboured. It was his Fault to begin too soon to curb the Insolence of the Planters, and a Difference with one of the most considerable of them perhaps hastened his Death. He did not live upwards of Six Weeks after his Arrival: He died at Four o' Clock in the Afternoon, and by express Orders of the Council, was buried the same Night: Yet that Privacy which they designed, did not hinder Hundreds from attending him to the Grave. I loved him while living, and lamented over him when dead, and paid that Tribute to so worthy a Character which a virtuous Muse is always ready to give.

The same Year died *Dr. James Hay*, Chief Justice of the Island, a Gentleman, whose many Virtues made him justly esteemed. He had a peculiar Softness in his Nature, which made him beloved by all; and at the same time a rigid Strictness to Offenders, which made Villains fear him. This excellent Person gave a distinguishing Instance of the Power of Virtue on a human Heart: For, altho' he resided upwards of twenty Years in so wicked a Place, he was never known to give into any of its Debaucheries:

An Oath he was never heard to swear, nor ever neglected his Family Devotions.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

LETTER X.

SIR,

I Shall now acquaint you with a material Change in the Affairs of this Island, occasioned by two great Events: the Submission of the rebellious Negroes, and the War which since my last Letters, has been declared between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*; an Event so desirable and long wish'd for by all true *Britons*; and particularly by the People of this Island, who wanted nothing more than to be left at Liberty to revenge the Cruelties, and the Depredations they have so long suffered from the insulting *Spaniards*, thro' the great Lenity and Forbearance of the Gentlemen at the Helm of Affairs in *Britain*, who at length appear roused out of the Lethargy their Enemies attributed to them, to avenge the Insults offered, not only to the Subjects, but to the Crown of *Great Britain*, by an Enemy not considerable enough to appear in Sight of the Flag they have long defy'd.

But I will resume my former Method, and shall next take Notice, that these two great Events seem reserved to the happy Governorship of the present Gentleman who succeeded the excellent Governor *Cunningham*.

And this is the Honourable *Edward Trelawny*, Esq; who now fills that important Place to the universal Satisfaction of the whole Island. Before his Arrival the Administration again devolved upon the Honourable *John Gregory*, Esq; who always acted with that Firmness and Prudence which became one in such an eminent Station.

tion ; his Character is to be strictly honest, and severely just ; no Motives could ever persuade him to forgive the Crimes of Convicts, nor could the Solicitations or Prayers of the most considerable, induce him to deviate from the known Laws and Rules of Justice.

On Mr. *Trelawny's* Arrival, he was very handsomely received by the principal Gentlemen, and had freely allowed him the same Salary which any of their former Governors enjoyed, except the Duke of *Portland*. The first Acts of his Administration were to put the Island in a better Posture of Defence, than it had been for some Years before. He ordered the several Forts to be viewed, and took effectual Care, that such Repairs as were necessary, should be instantly set about. He foresaw that Matters were like to come to an open Rupture with *Spain*, and therefore resolved to be strictly on his Guard ; for as he was intirely acquainted with the Importance of the Island to *Great Britain*, and of what Advantage a good Security within itself would be, so he effectually provided against any Apprehensions of a *Spanish* Invasion, by taking Care of the Forts, and appointing Officers of Experience and Resolution to command the Militia, who soon trained them, and brought them to know the Military Art to much greater Perfection than they did before : Nor did he fail by all possible Methods to procure them Quietness within themselves. 'Tis well known what vast Expence of Blood and Treasure the Island had been at to suppress the rebellious Negroes. The *English* Inhabitants, for near fifty Years past, constantly employed a Force against them, and were many times obliged to arm the whole Colony, but in vain notwithstanding ; for tho' they distressed them a great deal, yet they still found means to keep together, and defend themselves in their almost inaccessible Fastnesses,

against all the Attempts which were made to dislodge them. After the Island had been in Arms for nine Months together in the Year 1735 and 1736, during all which time the Exercise of the Civil Law was suspended, and yet nothing very material effected against the Negroes; every one began to despair; Hope itself seem'd to have nothing to trust to; the Planters were afraid that the Evil was not to be remedied, and the common People were quite dispirited; no one offered to settle near the Place of the Rebel Rendezvous, and many Settlements which had been lately made, were either quite deserted, or so little Care taken of them, that they turned to no Account: By this means, the best and most fertile Part of the Island was of no Service, but remained overgrown with Woods and Shrubs of no manner of Use but to afford a sure Shelter to the Runaways.

In this Situation was *Jamaica* on Mr. *Trelawny's* Arrival: He soon perceived the infinite Disadvantage it was to the Place, to have such a Set of inveterate Enemies lodged in its very Bosom; and at the same time saw that open Force could never reduce them to Subjection: He justly thought, that the inhuman Cruelties which were often exercised on these unhappy Wretches, when their unlucky Stars threw them into the Hands of white Men, were the principal Reasons which made them refuse to submit; and therefore resolved to try gentle Means, which were soon attended with all the happy Consequences that could be wished. On a Promise of Freedom and Security; the Negroes laid down their Arms, and all to a Man cheartfully submitted: The Articles on which they surrendered, contain little further than a Ratification of his Excellency's Promise for their future Freedom, and an Assurance of his Majesty's Protection on their observing certain Conditions. They are allowed.

allowed a Chief to govern them, but he is to do nothing without the Direction of the Governor of the Island, and several white Men live among them to observe their Actions.

Thus in a very small Space of Time, was this great Event brought about beyond the Hopes of all, and on such advantageous Terms, as exceeded the Wishes of every one.

Is it not natural here to observe, how strongly the Love of Liberty prevails in the Breasts of Men, notwithstanding the most wretched Circumstances? These Runaways endured more for near the Space of a Century, than can be found on Record of any State or People. They struggled with a superior Force, went naked, exposed to the Inclemencies of the Air, fed on Roots and Fruits, and chearfully ventured their Lives to secure themselves free. Can the History of old *Rome* produce greater Examples? They, tho' unfortunate, held it out to the last, and made Terms not inglorious to themselves. The other, always successfull, fell a Prey to one of its own Citizens.

Soon after this, his Majesty issued out Letters of Marque and Reprisal against the Crown and Subjects of *Spain*; which no sooner reached *Jamaica*, but the Governor made them publick, and gave Commissions according to his Instructions. They have since fitted out many Privateers, which have done good Service, and brought into the Island many rich Prizes. One of them landed a few Men on the Island of *Cuba*, where they plundered a whole Town, and returned without the Loss of a Man. The Planters have exerted themselves in a very remarkable manner, having largely encouraged the Sailors to pursue the common Enemy. And these again have been as forward to push on a just War. They expressed the greatest Chearfulness, and with many loud Huzza's went aboard to fight in their Country's Cause.

Edward

Edward Vernon, Esq; being appointed Vice-Admiral of the Blue, arrived in *Jamaica* in September last. As this Gentleman had always appeared to be entirely well affected to the true Interest of *Britain*, and joined with those who thought the Glory and Honour of his Nation could be no Ways retrieved but by a vigorous War, he soon made it evident, that *British* Courage, when free and unrestrained, was able to humble that haughty and insulting Enemy, and make the *Spaniards* once more tremble within their very strongest Fortifications.

His attack on *Porto Bello* is a Piece of History which gains immortal Honour to the *British* Name, and will convince Mankind what our brave Countrymen can do, when repeated Injuries rouse them to a just Revenge.

But that you may the better judge of the Boldness of this Attempt, and of the Conduct and Skill of the Officers, as well as of the private Men, it will not perhaps be disagreeable to give some Account of the Place.

Porto Bello is a Town which consists of about five hundred Houses, two Churches, a Treasury, a Custom-house and Exchange: The Inhabitants depend intirely upon the Fair, which is held in that Place every two or three Years, and which lasts about six Weeks, accordingly as the Galleons happen to arrive from *Carthagena*, where they always first dispose of part of their Goods, and then come to *Porto Bello*; where they are met by the Merchants from the great Cities of *Lima* and *Panama*, with Millions of Money to purchase their Merchandise. During the Time of the Fair, they can scarce find Room enough for the Chests of Money which are brought to that Place; and some make 10,000 Dollars for the Use of their House, in the time of the Sale. *Lima* and *Panama* can only be supplied

supplied with Goods from *Porto Bello*; It lies on the North-side of the famous *Isthmus* of *America*, known by the Name of the *Isthmus* of *Darien*; which running from East to West between the *North* and *South Seas*, joins the two vast Continents of *North* and *South America*. It is about 18 Leagues from *Panama*, which lies on the South-side of the Island: It has a very fair, large and commodious Harbour, affords good Anchorage, and Shelter for Ships, having a narrow Mouth, and spreading wider within. At the Bottom of the Harbour lies the Town, bending about the Shore like a Half-moon: It is long and narrow, having two principal Streets, besides Lanes that go a-cross; with a small Parade about the Middle of it, surrounded with pretty fair Houses. The Town lies open to the Country, and at the East End of it, where the Road to *Panama* goes out (because of the Hills that lie to the Southward of the Town, and obstruct the direct Passage) there lies a long Stable, running North and South from the Town to which it joins; this is the King's Stable for the Mules that are employed in the Road betwixt *Porto Bello* and *Panama*. It is deemed a very unhealthy Place: The East Side is low and swampy, and the Sea, at low Water, leaves the Shore within the Harbour bare a great Way from the Houses, which having a black filthy Mud, it stinks very much, and breeds noisom Vapours thro' the Heat of the Climate, it lying in the 10th Degree of North Latitude. It was defended by three Forts: The *Iron Fort*, on the North Side of the Mouth of the Harbour, with a hundred Guns; the *Gloria Castle*, with a hundred and twenty, on the South-side of the Harbour a Mile from the *Iron Fort*; and at the *Fort of Hieronymo*, with twenty Guns.

Having given this short Description of the Place, I shall now proceed to a particular Account of

of its late Demolition by Admiral *Vernon* : He was supplied in *Jamaica* with such Necessaries as he wanted ; the Governor and many others expressed the greatest Chearfulness in assisting his Designs ; and having embarked two hundred Soldiers, he set Sail on the 5th of *November*, from *Port Royal* Harbour, with his Majesty's Ships the *Burford*, which the Admiral himself commanded ; the *Hampton-Court*, Commodore *Brown*, the *Norwich*, Captain *Herbert* ; the *Worcester*, Captain *Main* ; the *Princess Louisa*, Captain *Waterhouse* ; and the *Stafford*, Captain *Tre-
vor* : Being two of Seventy, three of Sixty, and one of Fifty Guns.

On the 10th they gave Chace to a *Spanish* Sloop bound from *Carthage*na to *Porto Bello*, who on firing the first Gun, struck : This was very lucky to the Admiral ; for few of his Pilots were acquainted with the Coasts Westward of *Chagre*. On the 16th, they saw four Sail which escaped them in the Night-time, and having got into *Porto Bello* alarmed the Place.

On the 21st about two o' Clock, they came up with *Porto Bello* Harbour ; where the *Spaniards* had hoisted the Flag of Defiance upon the *Iron Fort*, and (as they afterwards owned) were full of the Hopes of sinking the *English* Squadron at once.

Commodore *Brown*, in the *Hampton-Court*, was the first who began the Attack, who performed his Part with a great deal of Resolution, Courage and Conduct ; as the Wind had failed, he was obliged to drop his Anchor strait before the Castle, and received a very brisk Fire from the *Spaniards*, at the Distance of little more than a Cable's Length : But the Commodore was not long before he returned their Salute ; for in twenty five Minutes time he fired above four hundred Shot against the Castle ; so that nothing was to be seen but Fire and Smoke on both Sides.

The

The *Norwich* came up next, who met with the same Reception; but in return, she aimed her Shot so well, as much discouraged the *Spaniards*, who hardly returned one Gun for three.

In less than half an Hour the *Worcester* got up, who anchoring close by the other two, did a great deal of Damage to the Castle, knocking down the higher Part of it, and driving the *Spaniards* from their Guns.

The Admiral's Ship came up soon after with the Blue Flag at her Fore-top-mast Head, and the bloody Flag at the Main-top-mast Head: The Admiral ordered the Anchor to be dropt within half a Cable's Length of the Castle. Notwithstanding they had discharged very few Guns for some Minutes before, yet, as if they had resolved to summon up all their Courage against the Flag, they welcomed him with a terrible Voley; which, being at so short a Distance, took place with almost every Shot; one struck away the Stern of the Barge, another broke a large Gun upon the upper Deck, a third went through the Fore-top-mast, and a fourth went through the Arning, within two Inches of the Main-mast, broke down the Barricado of the Quarter-deck very near the Admiral, and killed three Men in a Moment, wounding five others who stood by them; but this brisk Salute was returned in such a manner, that afterwards they did not the least Damage, tho' they continued now-and-then to fire a random Shot. The Fire of the small Arms soon commanded the Enemy's lower Batteries, and had a good Effect, in driving them from those which could have done most Harm: By this Means the Men were also secured at landing.

As the Boats came near the Admiral's Ship, he called to them to go directly on Shore, under the Walls of the Fort, tho' there was no Breach made; which threw the Enemy into such a general

neral Consternation, that the Officers and Men who had stood to the lower Battery, fled to the upper Part of the Fort, where they made a Signal for capitulating, which the Admiral answered by a White Flag ; but it was with the greatest Difficulty he could restrain his own Men, and those on board the *Stafford*, from firing.

In the mean time, the Soldiers and Seamen who had landed had climbed up the Walls of the lower Battery, in this manner ; one Man set himself close under an Embosier, whilst another climbed upon his Shoulders, and entered under the Mouth of a great Gun. All the Boats Crews were on the Platforms in three Minutes after landing, and struck the *Spanish* Flag of Defiance, hoisting the *English* Colours. The Captains and Officers shut themselves up, in a strong Lodgment ; upon the Lieutenant's Mr. *Broderick*, firing a Gun or two thro' the Door, they quickly opened it, and very quietly yielded to the Number of five Officers, and thirty five private Men out of three hundred, the rest having been either killed or wounded, or having made their Escape.

This Action lasted only about two Hours, in which time the *Iron Fort* was gained by only four Men of War, for two had not come up ; which, had it been in *English* Hands, would, it is thought, have been defended against all the naval Force of *Spain*.

The *Gloria Castle*, and *Hieronimo Fort* continued still firing ; but most of their Shot fell short, or flew over the Rigging. The Admiral finding this, tried some of his lower Teer at them, which being new Guns, answered beyond Expectation, carrying over *Gloria Castle*, into the Town, none of the Shot falling short, and one of them went quite thro' the Governor's House, and others thro' several Houses in the Town.

The next Morning, the Admiral went aboard Commodore *Brown*, to consult with the Captains,

tains, and give the necessary Orders for warping the Ships up the next Night, in order to attack the *Gloria Castle*; but was prevented by the Enemy's putting up a White Flag at the *Gloria Castle*, and sending a Boat with a Flag of Truce to the Admiral, with the Governor's Adjutant, and the Lieutenant of a Man of War, who brought the Conditions signed on which they would capitulate. In answer to which, the Admiral immediately drew up the Terms on which he would admit them to Capitulation, and dispatched them back again, allowing them only a few Hours to take their Resolution; and within the Time limited they accepted the Conditions offered them. And before Night, on *Tuesday, November the 22d.* the Admiral sent Captain *Newton*, who commanded the Detachment of Soldiers from *Jamaica*; who took immediate Possession of *Gloria Castle*, and *St. Hieronymo Fort*. The following are the Terms granted by the Admiral:

Article I. That the 'Garrison' be allowed to march out as desired, upon Condition the King of *Great Britain's* Troops be put into Possession of the *Gloria Castle* before four o' Clock this Evening, and the Garrison to march out by ten o' Clock to morrow Morning.

That the Inhabitants may either remove, or remain, under a Promise of Security for themselves and their Effects.

II. That the *Spanish* Soldiers may have a Guard, if they think it necessary.

III. That they may carry off two Cannons mounted, with ten Charges of Powder for each, and their Match lighted.

IV. The Gates of the *Gloria Castle* must absolutely be in Possession of the King our Master's Troops, by four o' Clock, and the *Spanish* Garrison shall remain in all Safety for their Persons

and Effects, till the appointed Time for their marching out, and to carry with them the Provisions and Ammunition necessary for their Safety.

V. That the Ships, with their Apparel and Arms, be absolutely delivered up to the Use of his *Britanick* Majesty ; but that all the Officers, Soldiers and Crews, shall have three Days allowed them to retire with all their personal Effects ; only one Officer being admitted on board each Ship and Vessel, to take Possession for the King our Master, and to see this Article strictly complied with.

VI. That provided the Articles above-mentioned are strictly complied with, and that Possession be given of Castle *St. Hieronymo*, in the same manner as is stipulated for the *Castle Gloria*, then the Clergy, the Courches and Town, shall be protected and preserved in all their Immunities and Properties.

And that all Prisoners already taken shall be set at Liberty before our leaving the Port.

Given under our Hands, on board his Majesty's Ship Burford, in Porto Bello Harbour, this 22d Day of November, 1739. O. S.

E. Vernon.

Cha. Brown.

The *Spaniards* at first demanded, that they should have not only an Indemnity for themselves, but likewise be allowed to keep Possession of all the Ships in the Harbour, this last was rejected ; for these were the very Ships which had done our Merchants all the Injuries complained of on those Coasts.

In the *Gloria Castle* were found a hundred and twenty Guns, two hundred small Arms and Blunderbusses, as many Swords, two hundred Barrels of Powder, four large Mortars, Thousands of Iron and Copper Balls ; with the Guns and

Ammu-

Ammunition in the *Iron Castle*, of which, about eighty seven (in all) are Bräfs: Together with two Men of War of twenty four Guns: One Snow of fourteen; four good Sloops, a Petiaguay and Half-Galley, 10,000 Dollars were likewise found, most of them hid in a Close-stool; which were distributed amongst the Sailors, for their Encouragement.

The Admiral broke the Trunnions of all the Iron Guns, blasted all the Foundations, and burnt the Superstructures of the Castles; so that some Millions will hardly compensate the Damage, and 'tis next to impracticable to rebuild them on the same Spot.

The Loss of our Side was only three Men aboard the Admiral; three on board the *Worcester*, and two Soldiers; five were wounded of the Admiral's Men, and one aboard the *Hampton-Court*.

As we have had such a glorious Instance of the Conduct of the heroick Admiral *Vernon*, and the Courage of the Officers and Sailors with him, we may daily expect Advices of fresh Successes from this brave Gentleman, if he be duly supported from *England*; and there is no doubt but he will, since the *West-Indies* is the only Place in which the haughty *Spaniards* may be most advantageously attacked by the *English*.

I am, S I R, Yours, &c.

LETTER XI.

S I R,

IN my preceding Letters I have given you the History of this Island, from the earliest Accounts, down to the present Times; and have endeavoured to give you some Idea of the Place,

its Situation, Extent and Trade, with whatever else appeared necessary to make the Relation instructive and agreeable. I shall now give you a summary Account of the Government of this Island.

The King of *Great Britain* appoints the Governor and Council, and the Representatives of the People are chosen by the Freeholders. In these *Three* the whole Legislative Power consists, and is as near a Representation of the *British* Government as the State of Affairs will allow. The Commander in Chief is Captain-General, Admiral and Chancellor of the Island; has Power to issue out all Sorts of Commissions; to summon and dissolve Assemblies; to make Counsellors; to pardon all Crimes, except Treason and Murder, and even for those to grant a Reprieve; to place and displace all Officers who are not by Patent: In a Word, to act with sovereign Authority under his Majesty, always taking Advice of his Council, and has a negative Voice in passing of all Acts of the Assembly. As he is Chancellor, he is impowered to grant Administrations and Executorship, of the Estates of Persons dying intestate, and this brings them in no small Profit.

His Salary is 2,500 £ a Year; the Duke of *Portland* indeed had 5000 *l.* but the Island was not able to continue it to his Successor. A considerable Present is generally made on a Governor's Arrival, and the *Jews* yearly contribute a very large Sum, which they give to his Excellency. His other Perquisites are very extraordinary, and 'tis justly esteemed the best Government in the King's Gift (*Ireland* excepted).

The Council are twelve in Number, and are generally Men of the best Estates and Quality in the Country; they are appointed by Letters of *Mandamus* from the King. On the Death or Dismission of any, the Governor nominates others

others to supply their Places. Their Business is to advise and assist the Governor, and to be a Check upon him, in Case he exceeds the Bounds of his Commission. In the Assembly the Council forms the Upper-house, and claims a negative Voice, as the House of Peers do in *England*.

The Assembly is composed of Members elected by the Suffrage of the Freeholders, and they do Business after the very same manner as the House of Commons do in *Britain*.

The Grand Court which takes Cognizance of all Civil Pleas, as well as of Crimes which infer corporal Punishments, sits four times in the Year. Their Session is limited to twenty one Days: 'Tis surprising to see what Business they dispatch in that short time. The present Chief Justice is *George Ellis*, Esq; a Gentleman who does Honour to the Country, and behaves after such a manner as to grace the Bench. He has six Assistants, who are generally Men of the greatest Knowledge, and of the fairest Characters. His Salary is only 120 *l. per Annum*. His Assistants have nothing at all. There are a great many inferior Courts, who decide upon Causes of less than 20 *l. Value*, and Justice is very impartially distributed, and without Delay.

The Militia is under the Direction of Officers appointed by the Governor: All from sixteen to sixty are obliged to list.

The Revenue of the Island, *communibus annis*, is reckoned at 70,000 *l.* The constant Parties, which they have been obliged to send and pay, increase their Expences: Besides this, there are a vast Number of publick Officers, who have very large Salaries.

The Parish Taxes are raised by the Vestry, for the Maintenance of the Minister and the Poor, and keeping the Churches in due Repair.

This brings me naturally to consider the Church Affairs of the Island, and I am sorry I am to

give you such a dismal Account : You know all the *British* Colonies in *America* are under the Inspection of the Bishop of *London* ; and, tho' his Lordship, no doubt, wishes well to the State of Religion in general, and to his own Diocese in particular ; yet 'tis surprising that such worthless and abandoned Men should be sent to such a Place as this. The Clergy here are of a Character so vile, that I do not care to mention it ; for except a few, they are the most finished of our Debauchees. Messrs. *Galpin*, *Johnston* and *May*, are indeed Men whose unblemished Lives dignify the Character they bear. They generally preach either in their own Churches, or to a few in some private Houses every *Sunday* ; but for others, their Church Doors are seldom opened.

This Island contains three Sorts of Inhabitants, *Masters*, *Servants* and *Slaves*. The *Gentlemen* are some of them extremely polite, and use their Inferiors with a great deal of Good nature. However, all of them have something of a haughty Disposition, and require Submission : A Stranger who knows how to apply to their Humour, generally gets into good Business ; but they who are so unhappy as to mistake it, may look for Business in another Place.

The *Servants* who behave well, are respected and encouraged ; if they be found honest, and worthy of their Trust, they are handsomely used. I have known them to dine on the same Victuals with their Master, and wear as good Cloaths, be allowed a Horse when they had Occasion to go abroad, and a *Negro* Boy to attend them. Others, who are either stupid or roguish, are indeed hardly used ; they are often put into the Stocks, and beat very severely. Their salt Provisions are weighed out, and they have nothing but what the Law obliges the Master to give. They have likewise another Unhappiness ; for, after the Expiration of their four Years, no
Body

Body is fond to employ them, and they generally remain in a low abject State, thro' the whole Remainder of their Lives. This ought to warn all who come over in such unhappy Circumstances, to beware how they act, and endeavour to behave in such a manner as will most effectually recommend them to the good Graces of their Masters. The great Thing which ruins most of these unfortunate Fellows, is the combining with the Negroes, who tell them many plausible Stories to engage them to betray their Trust. The Servants Labour is not very hard, but is much less than that of the Day-labourers in *Britain*. They who have no Trades, are only employed in looking after the Negroes at Work, or in overseeing the boiling of the Sugars.

The Condition of the Blacks is indeed worse, because their Servitude is perpetual. I shall not now enter upon the Question, whether the Slavery of these unhappy Creatures be agreeable to the Laws of Nature, or not; tho' it seems extremely hard, they should be reduced to serve, and toil for the Benefit of others, without the least Advantage to themselves. Happy *Britania*! where Slavery is never known, where Liberty and Freedom cheers every Misfortune. Here we can boast of no such Blessing; we have at least ten Slaves to one Freeman. I incline to touch the Hardships, which these poor Creatures suffer, in the tenderest manner, from a particular Regard which I owe to many of their Masters; but I can't conceal their sad Circumstances intirely; The most trivial Error is punished with a terrible Whipping. I have seen some of them treated in that cruel manner, for no other Reason but to satisfy the brutish Pleasure of an Overseer, who has their Punishment mostly at his Direction. I have seen their Bodies all in a Gore of Blood, the Skin torn off their Backs with the cruel Whip; beaten Pepper and Salt, rubbed in the Wounds, and
a large

a large Stick of Sealing-wax dropped leisurely upon them. It is no Wonder if the horrid Pain of such inhuman Tortures incline them to rebel; at the same time, it must be confessed, they are generally very perverse, which is owing to the many Disadvantages they lie under, and the bad Example they daily see.

Their Owners set aside for each a small Parcel of Ground, and allow them the *Sundays* to manure it. In it they generally plant Maiz, *Guiney* Corn, Plantains, Yams, Cocoas, Potatoes, &c. This is the Food which supports them, unless some of them, who are more industrious than others, happen to raise a Stock of Fowls, which they carry to Markets on the *Sundays*, (which is the only Market-day in *Jamaica*) and sell for a little Money with which they purchase Salt-Beef, Fish, or Pork, to make their *Olios* or *Pep-per-pot*. 'Tis surprizing to see the mean Shifts to which these poor Creatures are reduced: You'll see them daily about twelve o' Clock when they turn in from Work, 'till two, scraping the Dung-hills at every Gentleman's Door for Bones, which if they are so happy as to find, they break extremely small, boil them, and eat the Broth. Most of these Slaves are brought from the Coast of *Guiney*: When they first arrive, 'tis observed they are simple and very innocent Creatures; but they soon turn to be roguish enough: And when they come to be whipt, urge the Example of the Whites for an Excuse of their Faults. Their Notions of Religion are very inconsistent, and vary according to the different Countries they come from: But they have a kind of occasional Conformity, and join without Distinction in their solemn Sacrifices and Gambols. They generally believe there are two Gods, a good and a bad one; the first they call *Naskeew* in the *Papaw* Language, and the other *Timnew*: The good
God,

God, they tell you, lives in the Clouds ; is very kind, and favours Men ; 'twas he that taught their Fathers to till the Ground, and to hunt for their Subsistence. The evil God sends Storms, Earthquakes, and all kind of Mischief. They love the one dearly, and fear the other as much. Their Notions are extremely dark ; they have no Idea of Heaven, further than the Pleasures of returning to their native Country, whither they believe every Negroe goes after Death : This thought is so agreeable, that it cheers the poor Creatures, and makes the Burthen of Life easy, which otherwise would be quite intollerable. They look on Death as a Blessing : 'Tis indeed surprizing to see with what Courage and Intrepidity some of them will meet their Fate, and be merry in their last Moments ; they are quite transported to think their Slavery is near an End, and that they shall revisit their happy native Shores, and see their old Friends and Acquaintance. When a Negroe is about to expire, his Fellow-slaves kiss him, wish him a good Journey, and send their happy Recommendations to their Relations in *Guiney*. They make no Lamentations, but with a great deal of Joy inter his Body, firmly believing he is gone home, and happy.

When any thing about a Plantation is missing, they have a solemn kind of Oath, which the eldest Negroe always administers, and which by them is accounted so sacred, that except they have the exprefs Command of their Master, or Overseer, they never set about it, and then they go very solemnly to Work. They range themselves in that Spot of Ground which is appropriated for the Negroes Burying-place, and one of them opens a Grave. He who acts the Priest, takes a little of the Earth, and puts into every one of their Mouths ; they say, that if any has been guilty, their Belly swells, and occasions their Death.

I never saw any Instance of this but one ; and it was certainly Fact that a Boy did swell, and acknowledged the Theft when he was dying: But I am far from thinking there was any Connection betwixt the Cause and the Effect ; for a thousand Accidents might have occasioned it, without accounting for it by that foolish Ceremony.

I have discoursed them about the Immortality of the Soul, and some other important Points ; but I found their Notions of these Matters extremely obscure : Yet from the Customs they use at their Burials, I can gather some faint Traces of their Belief in that Article. When one is carried out to his Grave, he is attended with a vast Multitude, who conduct his Corps in something of a ludicrous Manner : They sing all the Way, and they who bear it on their Shoulders, make a Feint at stopping at every Door they pass, pretending, that if the deceas'd Person had received any Injury, the Corps moves towards that House, and that they cannot avoid letting it fall to the Ground, when before the Door. When they come to the Grave, which is generally made in some Savanpah or Plain, they lay down the Coffin, or whatever the Body happens to be wrapt up in ; and if he be one whose Circumstances could allow it, or if he be generally beloved, the Negroes sacrifice a Hog in Honour of him ; which they contribute to the Expences of, among themselves. The Manner of the Sacrifice is this : The nearest Relation kills it, the Intrails are buried, the four Quarters are divided, and a kind of Soup made, which is brought in a Calabash or Gourd, and after waving it three times, it is set down ; then the Body is put in the Ground ; all the while they are covering it with Earth, the Attendants scream out in a terrible manner, which is not the Effect of Grief, but of Joy ; they beat on their wooden Drums, and the
Women

Women with their Rattles make a hideous Noise: After the Grave is filled up, they place the Soup which they had prepared at the Head, and a Bottle of Rum at the Feet. In the mean time cool Drink (which is made of the *Lignum Vitæ* Bark, or whatever else they can afford) is distributed amongst those who are present; one half of the Hog is burnt while they are drinking, and the other is left to any Person who pleases to take it; they return to Town, or the Plantation, singing after their manner, and so the Ceremony ends.

They have a great many other remarkable Customs, which you may see very curiously described in the Introduction to Sir *Hans Sloane's Natural History of Jamaica*. Sunday Afternoon the Generality of them dance or wrestle, Men and Women promiscuously together. They have two musical Instruments, like Kettle-drums, for each Company of Dancers, with which they make a very barbarous Melody. They have other musical Instruments, as a *Bangil*, not much unlike our Lute in any thing but the Musick; the *Rookaw*, which is two Sticks jagged; and a *Jenkgowing*, which is a Way of clapping their Hands on the Mouth of two Jars: These are all played together, accompanied with Voices, which make a very terrible kind of Harmony.

They are so far superior in Number to the Whites, that one should think it would be unsafe, considering all Circumstances, to live amongst them. The Reasons of the Planters Security are these: The Slaves are brought from several Places in *Guiney*, which are different from one another in Language, and consequently they can't converse freely; or, if they could, they hate one another so mortally, that some of them would rather die by the Hands of the *English*, than join with other *Africans*, in an Attempt to shake off their Yoke.

Yoke. None of them are allowed to touch any Arms, unless by their Master's Command, or go out of the Bounds of the Plantation to which they belong, without a special Permit signed by their Owner or Overseer. They are kept in such Awe, that they are afraid even to make the least thought of Liberty appear. And when they see the Whites muster and exercise, there can be no Terror in the World greater than what they lie under at that Time. 'Tis true, the *Creolian* Negroes are not of this Number: They all speak *English*, and are so far from fearing a Muster, that they are very familiar with it, and can exercise extremely well.

The Way of trafficking for them till lately, was sending Ships with Beads, Pewter, Jars, Cloaths, Hats, Copper-bars, Knives and Toys, to *Africa*. But now the Trade is by Perpetuano's, Guns, Powder, Flints, Tallow and Spirits. They trade from *Sierra Leona* to *Cape Negro*, a vast Territory on the Coasts near 1500 Miles in Length, in which are a great Multitude of petty Kingdoms, where the Kings sell their Subjects and Prisoners of War, some mean Men their Children, and sometimes their Wives.

Some of them make very good Mechanicks, when they are taught after they come to *Jamaica*, and such are the Treasure of a Planter: When Mortality seizes them, the Owner is undone, unless he is a monied Man and can renew his Stock, which must be replenished every Year, or he would soon want Hands for his Work. Almost half of the new imported Negroes die in the Seasoning, nor does the Polygamy which they use, add much to the Stocking of a Plantation. Every *Pickaninny*, or Child is valued at 5 *l.* and the Commodity in general rises or falls like any other in the Market.

Whatever some credulous People may imagine, with Relation to the Negroes Blood, I can assure

sure you it is equally fair with ours, and I'm surpriz'd to find the contrary so strongly asserted in the *Philosophical Transactions*. I have seen twenty of them let Blood in a Morning, and have observed with as great Niceness as lay in my Power; yet never could discern the least Difference betwixt theirs and the *Europeans*.

The Slaves are not only subject to the common Diseases incident to white Men, but are likewise troubled with some particular Distempers, which no doubt, their coarse Way of living very much occasions. There is a small Insect, which is called the *Chegoe*, that eats into their Flesh, and the Toes of some are laid bare to the very Bone by them. White People are indeed sometimes troubled with them, especially New-comers, as they are likewise with the Yaws, which is a very terrible Disease, and was first introduced into this Island, by the Negroes from *Guiney*. If a Fly has pitched upon one that is infected, and immediately after rests on a sound Person they never escape the Disease; they feel its Approaches by a kind of Giddiness in the Head, and a general Disorder: Before it breaks out the several Parts of the Body are felt to contain the ulcerous Matter in little hard Biles. It is a great while before it appears; after it does, no Sight can be more miserable; they are all over one Blotch of Sores, which run a stinking, putrid, white Matter, and 'tis long before they can be cured; two Years is the soonest; and that which is called the *Crab-Yaws* is never removed. However, these last are not infectious. As soon as ever it is known, that a Negroe has the Yaws, he is immediately removed to some retired Place on the Skirts of the Plantation, and his Physick and Victuals sent to him by one who had been in the same Condition; for such will never be infected again.

I am, S I R, Yours, &c.

LETTER XII.

S I R,

I Shall now proceed to give you some short Account of the most remarkable Trees, Plants, and curious Animals which this Island produces.

Sugar grows in a long Stalk, which we call a Cane full of Joints, two, three, four, or five Inches asunder, and about six Feet high, the Sprouts and Leaves at the Top rising up so, as may make it near eight Feet in all. The Body of the Cane is about an Inch Diameter, seldom more. The Colour of the Cane-top is a pure Grass-green; the Cane itself is yellowish when ripe: 'Tis covered with a thin Skin or Bark, somewhat hard on the Inside, being of a white spongy Substance, full of Juice, which the Servants and others suck, and eat great Quantities of, without injuring their Health: Nothing is pleasanter than this Sap, when the Cane is ripe; 'tis also very nourishing and wholesome, if taken with Moderation. Their Way of eating it is thus: They cut the Skin or Rind off, and put the Pile or spongy Parts into their Mouths, when the Juice will come out more freely than Honey out of the Comb; and this Sweetness as far exceeds that of Honey, *as a Pippen does a Crab*. 'Tis not surfeiting, but the cleanest and best Sweet in the Universe. The Nature of this Juice is much like to that of Apples, but something thicker; 'tis yellow when the Cane is ripe, clean and without any ill Taste or Hogo, and goes off the Palate as sweetly as it came on. Of this Juice, Sugar, Rum, and Melasses are made.

The Season for planting Sugar-canes, is from *August* to the beginning of *December*, sometimes they don't arrive to Maturity, till they have been a Year and a Quarter, or a Year and a half in the Ground.

Their

Their manner of growing is in Sprouts, three, four, or five, from one Root. They are not all of a Size, either in Bigness or Length ; but differ according to the Goodness of the Soil, and the Seasons. Some Canes will not rise above three Feet high, and others six ; and the Flags, or Cane-tops of them exceed nine Feet, Stalk and all, and sometimes are under six. These Cane-tops make very good Food for Horses and black Cattle ; but the solid Canes are carried to the Mill, for the Uses we shall mention hereafter.

The manner of planting them, is by digging long Trenches in the Earth, about six Inches deep, and as many broad, and laying a double Row of Canes along in the Trench, one by another, from one end of the Trench to the other ; then the Earth is thrown in, and another Trench dug, and so another, at about two Feet Distance, till all the Land is planted, by laying the Canes along : Thus they produce the greater Number of Sprouts ; for this Way, a Branch shoots out of every Joint of the Cane, whereas the first Planters used to thrust a Piece of Cane perpendicularly into a Hole, at certain Distances, which yielded no Shoot but from the Top ; and having three or four Sprouts, whose whole Weight depended on one Root, when they grew tall and heavy, the Storms loosened the Roots, and so they rotted, and became good for nothing. By this new Way of planting, the Root is secured, and the Produce increased. They come up in a little While after they are planted, and in about twelve Weeks, they will be two Feet high.

The next Care of the Planter is to keep the Canes well weeded, Weeds being very apt to grow among them ; and formerly the Withes in particular ; a kind of Creeper, that runs along the Ground, and fastens to the Canes, by which they hinder their Growth.

The Roots must also be examined, to see if any have failed, that they may be supplied in time with others, lest the Ground should yield something hurtful to the Plant.

If the Withe should over-run a Plantation, or the Planter should neglect to fill up the Vacancies of the Roots that failed, by this means the Crop is partly ripe and partly green, and can never be separated, but by much more Labour than they are worth; and the Planter burns the Canes on the Ground: By this Means, tho' he loses so much time as they have been a growing, yet he does not lose his Planting; for the Fire does not touch the Root, which shoots out again presently; and it betters the Soil, and destroys the Rats. They do this, by kindling the Fire on the Outfides of the Field, in a Circle quite round the Piece of Ground; the Rats retire from the Borders to the Centre, and the Flames reaching at last to that, consume a Swarm of them together.

These Vermin were brought thither by the *English* Ships, and will so gnaw and suck the Canes, that they rot after it. In the Time of Hurricanes, or a Storm, the Rats fly to the Houses, where they would do as much Mischief, but that they are more easily destroyed there.

The Practice now is to dung the Canes, which is done either when they are planted, or when they come up, and are two Feet high, and this is the greatest Trouble and Expence the Planter is at; for if it was not for this Dinging, a third Part of the Negroes would do his Business.

When the Canes are ripe, which is known by their Colour, they are cut up with a Bill, or other Tool, by one at a Time; for they are too big to be mowed with a Scythe, or cut with a Hook: As they cut them, they trim them

them, chop off the Top, and cut or strip off the Leaves or Flags on the Sides, which are saved for the Uses I have already mentioned.

The Canes thus cut, are bundled up in Faggots, and used to be tied up with Withes that grow among them, but now are only tied up with the Tops of the Canes. Then they are carried to the Mill by Mules, in Carts, or drawn by Horses.

The Mills that are most in Use here, are Cattle-mills; but lately some substantial Planters have one or two Wind-mills, and some three. The late President *Ascough*, erected one at his Plantation to Windward, which is a very curious Piece of Mechanism.

The Cattle-mills and Wind-mills are made after the same manner as ours in *England*, and they grind the Canes thus in the Cattle-mills: The Horses and Cattle, being put to their Tackle, go about, and turn by Sweeps the middle Roller; which being cogg'd at the upper End, turn the others about. They all three turn upon the same Centres, which are of Brass and Steel, going so easily of themselves, that a Man taking hold of one of the Sweeps with his Hands, may turn all the Rollers about; but when the Canes are put in between the Rollers, 'tis a good Draught for five Oxen or Horses. A Negroe Woman puts in the Canes on one Side, and the Rollers draw them through on the other, where another Negroe Woman stands, receives them, and returns them back on the other Side of the middle Roller, which draws the other Way.

This Operation presses out the Juice, and the *English* do no more to the Canes: But the *Spaniards* have a Press to squeeze out the Remainder of the Liquor, after both the former Grindings. Their Works are small, and they are willing to make the most of them.

Mr. *Ligon*, from whom some Part of this Account of the Cattle-mill is taken, speaks more largely of it; but what I have said, may give you some Idea of the Matchine. The Rollers are of Wood, cas'd with Iron, and they press out the Juice so thoroughly, that there is no Occasion for a Press to squeeze them; for in an Hour's Time, the Sun dries the Canes so much, that they are fit to burn.

Under the Rollers is a hollow Place into which all the Juice that runs from the Canes is received, and by Pipes of Lead, or Leaden Gutters covered close over, conveyed into a Cistern near the Stairs, leading from the Mill-house into the Boiling-house.

When Sugar was first planted in this Island, for six or seven Years together, one Acre of Canes yielded more than now, without any further planting or dunging; the same Root would shoot forth new Branches, and those be fuller of Sap, than the Canes are at this time; when the Sugar being of so great a Substance, and containing such a Quantity of rich Juices, and the Planters pressing it so often with the same Plant, and never letting it lie still, the Soil is so impoverished, that they are forced to dung and plant every Year; in so much that one hundred Acres of Cane require almost double the Number of Hands they did, while the Land retained its natural Vigour, which also then did not only bring forth certain Crops, but fewer Weeds too, the Weeds having been increased by frequent Dunging.

Most of the Sugar Islands, *Jamaica* especially, have a kind of white chalky Gravel, called *Marle*, which lies two or three Feet deep, which of itself is of so hot a Temper, and its Heat is so increased by dunging, that their Crops, in all dry Seasons, are sure to fail; and on the other hand, in a wet Year, the Canes grow rank, and never come to Maturity.

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When the Liquor is in the Cistern, it must not remain there above one Day, lest it grow sour: From thence it is conveyed through a Gutter, fixed to the Walls of the Boiling-house, to the clarifying Copper or Boiler, and there boiled, till all the Filth or gross Matter rising to the Top is skimmed off. This is the largest Copper, in the Boiling-house; and as the Liquor is refined, 'tis taken out of the Copper, and carried into the second, and so into a third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh. The least is called the *Tach*, where it boils longest. 'Tis continually kept stirring and boiling, till it comes to a Consistency; and yet all this Boiling would reduce it only to a thick clammy Substance, without turning it to a Grain, were it not for the *Lye* or *Temper* that is thrown into it. This *Temper* was many Years ago made of the Ashes of Withes, which in the Field was so destructive to the Cane; but the *Temper* now used is made of Lime infused in common Water. When the Sugar begins to rise up with a turbulent ungovernable Fury, occasioned by the Fermentation of the Liquor of the Lime-water, and the vehement Heat of the Fire, to prevent its running over they throw in a small Piece of Tallow no bigger than a Nut. This presently makes it fall. The Reason of this proceeds from a kind of Antipathy between the Salt-nitral Property of the Juice of the Cane, and the animal Sulphur of the Tallow. From the Boiler the Liquor is emptied into a Cooler, where it remains till it is fit to be potted. These Pots are wide at the Top and Taper downwards, where a Hole is left for the Melasses to drain. The hot Liquor would run out, but the Pots are stopped with a Twig till they are set upon the *Dripps*. In refining the Suggar, the first Degree of Pureness is effected by permitting the Melasses to drain away through the Hole at the Bottom of the Sugar-pots, they being all the Time open at the Top.

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The second Degree is procured by covering the Pots at the Top with Clay ; the Reason whereof is, that the Air is hereby kept out from the Sugar, which in the open Pots, hardens it before it hath full time to refine by Separation ; and therefore the first requires but one Month to refine, and the other four.

From the Skimmings and the Melasses of the Sugar the Rum is distilled, which is done thus : They take four Parts Water, and one Melasses, and mix in the Cisterns ; they work it up with large Copper Ladles, twice every twenty four Hours ; in about ten Days 'tis stale and ripe, which they know by tasting ; then they put it in the Stills, which must be well cleaned and prepared, and run it off in the same manner as they do common Spirits in *Great Britain*.

The Sugar-cane is so profitable a Plant, that I have insisted the longer on the Description and Cultivation of it. The other Commodities which this Island produces are Pimento, Cocoa, Cotton, Indico, Coffee, all which I shall describe very briefly.

The Trunk of the *Pimento-tree* is as thick as one's Thigh : It rises strait above thirty Feet, is covered with an extraordinary smooth Skin, of a grey Colour ; 'tis branched out on every hand, having the end of its Twigs set with Leaves of several Sizes, the largest being four or five Inches long, and two or three broad in the Middle, where it is broadest, and whence it decreases in both Extremes, ending in a Point, smooth, thin, shining without any Incisures, of a deep green Colour, and standing upon Inch-long Stalks ; when braised it is very oderiferous, and in every thing like the Leaves of a Bay-tree : The Ends of the Twigs are branched into Bunches of Flowers, each Stalk sustaining a Flower bending back, within which Bend are many *Stamina* of pale

pale green Colour; these Flowers have a Branch of crowned Berries, the Crown being made up of four small Leaves, at first greenish, but when ripe is black, smooth and shining, containing in a moist, green aromatick Pulp, two large Seeds, separated by a Membrane, each of which is a Hemisphere, and both joined make a spherical Seed: it grows in all the hilly Parts of this Island, but chiefly in the North-side. It flowers in *June*, *July*, and *August*, but sooner or later, according to their Situation and different Seasons for Rain; after it flowers, the Fruit soon ripens; there is no Difficulty in curing the *Pimento* or *Jamaica* Pepper; they climb the Trees and pull the unripe green Fruit, which done, they expose them to the Sun, till they become of a brown Colour, and then they are fit for the Market. In Smell and Taste they are something like Cloves, Juniper-berries, Cinnamon, and Pepper, or rather have a peculiar mixt Smell, somewhat akin to all of them, whence it is commonly called *Allspice*. Dr. Stobane says, They are the best, the most temperate, mild and innocent of Spices, and deserve to come into greater Use, and to be preferred to any of the *East-India* Commodities of this Kind, almost all of which it far surpasses, by promoting the Digestion, extenuating tough Humours, moderately heating and strengthening the Stomach, expelling Wind, and performing all those friendly Offices to the Bowels, which we expect from Spices.

There are Three Sorts of *Cotton trees*: One creeps on the Earth like a Vine, the second is thick like a bushy Dwarf-tree, and the third is as tall as an Oak. The second, after it has produced very beautiful Flowers, is loaded with a Fruit as large as a Walnut, and whose outward Coat is intirely black. This Fruit, when it is fully ripe, opens and discovers a Down extremely white, which is called *Cotton*; they separate the Seeds from it by a Mill. The Bark is of a brownish Colour, the
Leaves

Leaves small, divided into three Parts: It bears a Flower about the Bigness of a Rose, under which there are three little green sharp-pointed Leaves, that encompass it round. The Flower consists of five Leves, of a bright yellow Colour, that have several purple Streaks towards the Stem, and a yellow Button or Crown, surrounded with Fibres of the same Colour.

The Body of the *Cocoa-tree* is commonly about four Inches Diameter, five Feet in Height, and about twelve from the Ground to the Top of the Tree. The *Cocoa* grows in Cods or long Shells, shaped like a Cucumber, each having in it three, four, or five Kernels, about the Bigness of small Chesnuts, which are separated from each other by a very pleasant refreshing white Substance, about the Consistence of the Pulp of a roasted Apple; moderately sharp and sweet. A bearing Tree generally yields from two to eight Pounds of Nuts a Year, and each Shell contains from twenty to thirty Nuts. The Manner of curing them is, to cut them down when ripe, and lay them in a Heap to sweat three or four Days in the Cods; after this the Shells are cut, the Nuts taken out and put into a Trough, covered with Plantain-leaves, where they sweat again about sixteen or twenty Days. The Nuts that are in each Cod, being knit together by certain Fibres, the small Strings are broken, and the Pulp is imbibed and mingled with the Substance of the Nut. After this they are put to dry three or four Weeks in the Sun, and then they become of a redish dark Colour. The Cods grow only out of the Body or great Limbs and Boughs; at the same time there are Blossoms, and young and ripe Fruit.

Indico is made of an Herb not unlike our Hemp; when it is cut they throw it into Pits, which they make with Lime: These they fill half full of Water, and then put in the Herb, which they

they bruise and jumble in the Cistern, till it becomes like a kind of thick Mud ; This being done, they let it settle for some Days ; and when the Water is clear above, they let it run out ; When it is quite drained, they fill Baskets with the Slime, and the Negroes go to Work, and make up the Indico in small little Pieces, flat at the Bottom, and at the Top sharp like an Egg.

Coffee is now very much cultivated here : It is a large Shurb, its Leaves of a dark green Colour ; the Berries grow in large Clusters ; One Bush will produce several Pounds. The Bean is inclosed in a fine red scarlet Pulp, which is too luscious to be palatable ; however, a great many eat it. When it is ripe, it turns black, and then they gather the Berries, and separate them from the Husk ; after this they expose them to the Sun, till they be quite cured, when they are fit for the Market.

Ginger shoots forth Blades from its Root, in Shape not unlike those of Wheat. When it is ripe, the Roots are dug up and scraped by the Negroes, to clear it of the outward Skin, and kill the Spirit, otherwise it would be always growing. They who have not Hands enough to scrape it, are forced to scald it ; but this proves not near so good as the other. It will be as hard as Wood, whereas the scraped Ginger is white and soft ; and accordingly scalded Ginger is sold 40 per Cent. cheaper than scraped.

There are a great many beautiful Trees in *Jamaica* ; the first and fairest is the *Cedar* ; its Leaves are like those of an *Ash*, and grows to a prodigious Bigness. The *Mastich-tree* grows to a vast Height : It is a hard Timber : *Iron-wood*, *Bullet tree* and *Mastich* are generally used for Chariot-wheels and Mill-work. The *Mahogany-tree* is so well known, that I need not describe it. The wild *Cinamon* is about twenty or thirty Feet high, having many Branches and Twigs hanging downwards, which make a very comely Top. The Bark con-

consists of two Parts, one outward, and another inward; the outward is thin, of a whitish-grey Colour, of an aromattick Taste; the inward Bark is much thicker than Cinamon, smooth, and of a whiter Colour, of a much more biting and aromattick Taste, something like that of Cloves, and not glutinous like Cinamon, but dry and crumbling between the Teeth. Rum loses its loathsome Smell, if mixt with its Bark.

The famous *Cabbage-tree*, some of which are upwards of 100 Feet high, is nothing else than the Palm; and all that is eaten in the Cabbage, is what sprouted out that Year, and so is tender; if eaten raw, it is as good as any new Almonds, and if boilded, excels the best Cabbage. When the Top is cut off, the Tree dies. The Timber will never rot; and when it is dry, grows so hard, that one can scarce drive a Nail into it.

The *Manchineel-tree* is very large, its Apple is beautiful to the Eye, agreeable to the Smell, and pleasant to the Taste; but, if eaten, certain Death. The Wood of it, when green, if rubbed against the Hand, will fetch off the Skin, and raise Blisters. When the Negroes cut it down, they are obliged to be very cautious; for if any of the Juice hapen to light in their Eyes, they are immediately made blind, and continue so for several Days, attended with an intolerable Pain. The *Tamarind-tree* is very fine and beautiful, it extends its Boughs so wide, that many Hundreds might repose under its friendly Shade. But I must refer, for a Description of it, to Sir *Hans Sloane*, as likewise of the *Sarsaparilla*, *Cassia*, *Venillos*, many Kinds of *Mistletoes*, &c.

But it were endless to enumerate the vast Variety of Trees and Plants which grows here, and would fill a Volume to describe them; I have therefore only touched upon a few, and refer to Sir *Hans Sloane* for a particular Account.

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That I may give you a View of our remarkable *Animals*, I shall proceed to acquaint you, that amongst our *Fishes*, we look upon the *Tortoise* to be the most curious. They float sleeping in a calm Day, on the Surface of the Water. The Seamen row gently, till they come near them, and either strike them with Irons, or ensnare their Legs with a Rope and running Knot, and so catch them. If their Blood be heated, they die; for to maintain Life, it must not be hotter than the Element they live in. They bite much more of the submarine Grass than they swallow; by which means the Sea is sometimes covered with the Grass, where they feed at Bottom. Once in about half an Hour they come up, fetch one Breath like a Sigh, and then sink down again. When they are out of the Water, they breath somewhat oftener: If they are hurt on Shore, as they lie on their Backs, the Tears will trickle from their Eyes. They may be kept out of Water twenty Days and more; and yet they will be so fat, as to be fine Meat, provided they get about half a Pint of Salt-water every Day. The Fat about their Guts is yellow, on their Bodies green: The Head being cut off, it dies instantly; and if the Heart is taken out, the Motion continues not long; but any Quantity of the Flesh will move, if Pricked, many Hours after 'tis cut in Quarters; and the very Joints of the Bones and Shoulders have their Motions, even tho' you prick only the Fat of them; but if you place these Parts in the Sun, they presently die (as the Legs do) as soon as they are cut off.

Doctor *Stubbs* relates a real Fact, when he says, *That the Blood of a Tortoise is colder than any Water here; yet is the beating of their Heat as vigorous as that of any Animal, and their Arteries are extremely firm; their Lungs lie in their Belly, their Spleen is triangular, of a firm Flesh, and floridly red: Their Liver is of a dark green; they have a sort of Teeth.* All the *Tortoises* from the *Caribbees*

to the Bay of *Mexico*, retire in the Summer to the *Cayman* Islands on this Coast, to lay their Eggs, and to hatch; there they coot for fourteen Days together; then lay in one Night about 300 Eggs, with White and Yolk, but no Shells. Then they coot again, and lay in the Sand, and so thrice, when the Male is reduced to a kind of Jelly within, and blind, and is so carried home by the Female. Their Fat is green but not offensive to the Stomach, when made into Broth or stewed. Their Urine looks of a yellowish green, and is oily after it is eaten.

The Rivers and Bays abound with a vast Variety of fine Fishes; but I must defer the Description of them to another Opportunity.

The most terrible Creature here, or perhaps in any Part of the World, is the *Alligator*, which commonly lies about the Rivers and Ponds; they live upon animal Flesh, after which they hunt greedily, but seldom get Men to devour, because 'tis easy to avoid them; for they cannot stir but in a strait Line, which they do swiftly and forcibly; whereas they turn with Difficulty, and slowly: Some of them are from fifteen to twenty Feet long; their Backs are all over scaly and impenetrable, and 'tis hard to wound them any where, but in the Belly, or in the Eye. They have four Feet or Fins, with which they either walk or swim. 'Tis observable, that like Fish they never make a Noise. Their Way of hunting is to lie on the Bank of a River, and wait for Beasts that come to drink there, which they seize as soon as within their Reach, and devour: They deceive them the more easily, because they resemble a long Piece of old dry Wood, or something that's dead. The Mischief these Animals do is recompensed by their Fat, of which an excellent Ointment is made, good for any Pains or Aches in the Bones or Joints. They have Bags of Musk, stronger and more odorous than that of the *East Indies*; the Smell is so great, and so searching, that 'tis easy by it to discover where they lie,
and

and avoid them, before a Man sees them ; even the Cattle, by a kind of natural Instinct, smell them, and run away. They breed like Toads by Eggs, which they lay in the Sand on the River's Banks ; their Eggs are no larger than a Turkey's ; they cover them with the Sand, and the Sunbeams hatch them ; the Shell is as firm as a Turkey's Egg, and resembles it in Shape ; but is not spotted ; as soon as their Young come out of the Shell, they take immediately to the Water.

The Alligators are shaped like Lizards, being four-footed ; they walk with their Belly at a little Distance from the Ground. Those of full Growth have Teeth like a Mastiff ; the Negroes frequently kill them, by preparing a piece of Iron-wood about eighteen Inches or two Feet long, sharp at both Ends ; this they take by the Middle, and jump into the River where they see the Alligator. The terrible Creature comes immediately on them with open Jaws ; they thrust their Hands into his Mouth, and the Alligator biting fastens his upper and under Jaws on the Points of the Iron-wood ; and after he is thus secured, they kill him at their own Leisure : I have seen them brought alive to *Spanish-Town*, and (after their Teeth were beat out) beaten as they do a Bull. Mr. *Ellis*, the present Chief Justice, has one of them in his Court-yard strongly chained, and kept in a Pit digged for that Purpose.

Amongst the many Insects, which are such an Inconveniency to this Place, I shall only take Notice of the *Chegoes*, before spoken of, which getting into any Part of the Body, breed in great Numbers, and shut themselves up in a Bag ; when the Negroes feel them first, they must be careful to pick them out with a Pin, or the Point of a Pen-knife, and destroy the Bag intirely, that none of the Brood, which are like Nits, may be left behind, for fear of giving Rise to a new Generation.

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The *Fire-flies* contract and expand their Light as they fly, and their Light continues some Days after they are dead ; they are a kind of *Cantharides*, looking green in the Day-time, but glowing and shining in the Night, even when they are dead. By a few of them, one may distinctly see to read the smallest Print. I have done it often ; the Fly must be held almost close to the Book, and moved from Word to Word ; for its Light does not expand far.

As to *Birds*, we have a great Variety ; but the most famous is the *Colibry* or Humming-bird, which is admirable for its Beauty, Shape, Smell, and Way of Life ; and 'tis much less than a Wren, yet the most glorious of all Birds ; some of them are no bigger than the greater Sort of Flies ; the Colours of the Feathers in its Neck and Wing, represent those of the Rainbow. Some of them have such a bright Red under their Necks, that at a Distance one would think it to be a *Carbuncle* ; the Belly and under the Wing are of a fine Yellow, the Thighs as green as an Emerald, the Feet and Beak as black as polished Ebony ; the two little Eyes cast a surprising Lustre ; the Head is of a Grass-green ; the Plumage of the Male is finer than the Female, and on his Head he has a Crown of Feathers, as it were to distinguish his Superiority ; 'tis so strong in its Flight, that it makes a louder Noise by the Agitation of its Wings, than some of the largest Birds ; it loves to fly near those who are passing, and surprises them like a little Whirlwind. It lives on the Dews, which it sucks with its Tongue from the Blossoms. Its Tongue is much larger than its Beak, hollow like a Reed, and about the Bigness of a small Needle ; 'tis seldom seen on the Ground. These beautiful Creatures are mostly about the Cotton and Orange-trees, and are very curious in building their little Nests amongst the Branches. The only Way of taking them is by shooting with Sand which stuns them ; when you have it, you cannot keep it, for none can furnish it with its ordinary Food. There

There are several other Birds, as the *Carrion-crow*, the *Fregat* or *Men of War*, *Boobies*, *Swallows*, extraordinary large *Batts*, a Variety of *Pidgeons*, &c.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

LETTER XIII.

SIR,

IN the Course of these Letters, I have endeavoured to give you as just a Notion of this Island, as possibly I could. I have represented the Facts fairly, and omitted nothing which I looked upon as material. I shall conclude my Design with a few Observations on the Trade and true Interests of this Island. It may not be amiss likewise to lay down a Method, which according to Physicians will most probably, if exactly followed, secure the Lives and Health of those who come to settle here.

The chief Trade of this Island is with *Great Britain*; they deal little with other Nations, except it be in the interloping Way. They load yearly upwards of five hundred Vessels with the Commodities of the Country. Sugar brings not such a Price as it formerly did; and Rum is fallen quite low, occasioned by the late Act of Parliament, prohibiting the Retail of that Spirit. The Planters complain exceedingly of this, and *Britain* must at last be a Loser if the Riches of the Colony fail, or the Demand for their Goods be not equal to the Manufacture of them. It were endless to repeat the Advantages which are received from this Colony. Not to mention the extraordinary Imposts on the Rum and other Goods, how many thousands are employed in home Manufacturies, for which there is salable Goods such a great Consumption here! The chief are *Osabruks*, *Check-Linen*, *white Linen*, both coarse and fine, *Laces*, *Cambricks*, *Hats*, *Shoes*, *Stockings*, *Broad cloaths*, *Silks*, *Platilloes*, and all Sorts of *Iron-ware*, *Soap*, *Candles*, *Butter*, *Cheese*, *salt Beef*, *Pork*, *Herrings*, *dried Cod-fish*, *Bisket*, *Beer*, *Ale*,

Ale, Cyder, &c. all which bring at least fifty *per Cent.* to the Importer.

Such a Place as this ought to be encouraged, and that on many Accounts; for it is not only of infinite Advantage to the *British* Nation in respect of Trade, but likewise of the greatest Importance on every Account; its Situation is so advantageous, that with little Pains and Expence, it might be made a Terror to *Spain*. A few Men of War, and light Sloops, would be able to scour these Coasts, and keep both *French* and *Spaniards* in Awe. A wise *British* Administration will make Use of these Advantages, and encourage an Island which it is so much their Interest to improve.

For this Island, of all others, deserves the Notice of *Great Britain*. *Barbadoes* is on the Decline; we have daily vast Numbers of People from that Colony, who flock here to better their Fortunes; the same may be said of the Northern Colonies. Indeed *Jamaica* is a constant Mine, whence *Britain* draws prodigious Riches: The five hundred Sail of Ships, which, as I have shew'd, it yearly loads, may be computed (at 150 Tons each) to amount to 57,000 Tons; which cannot be managed by less than 6000 Seamen, nor the Families which subsist in *England*, by building and fitting out so many Ships, contain less than 12 or 14,000 Souls. The Export of the Island may amount to near 100,000 Hogsheads of Sugar, reckoning every Vessel to carry only 200, by which near 20,000 are maintained at home, and some of them enriched. The next Produce of these Sugars may be about a Million, computing the Sugars at only 20 *s.* per Hundred Weight, and a Thousand Weight to the Hogshead, and the other Commodities will bring 100,000 *l.* more, all which is returned in Manufactures and Goods from *Great Britain*; for except *Madera* Wine and Rum-punch, they eat, drink, and wear, only the Product of *Great Britain*; and by this Means I may venture to affirm, that

40,000 more Mouths are fed, besides the Numbers that subsist by retailing these Commodities, which may be 10,000 in all. In short by a very modest Computation, the *Jamaica* Trade subsists upwards of 100,000 People, and on this Island there may be about 40,000 Whites (of which 17,000 are able to carry Arms); therefore, by this means, *Jamaica* maintains 140,000 People, all *Britains*; so you may easily guess, of what Importance this Place is to *Great Britain*, and how much it adds to the Riches of the *British* Nation, without drawing one Half-penny from it. Besides this, 'tis placed in the very Centre of the *Spanish* Acquisitions in *America*: No Vessel can go to, or come from the Continent, but must necessarily sail within Sight of *Jamaica*, or fall into the Hands of our Cruisers, of which, if we had enough, with brave and faithful Commanders, we should not fear a War; and the Benefit they would bring by the Prizes, would soon answer the Inconveniences of a present Expence. Every Fleet that comes from *Carthagena*, puts into *Hispaniola*; from whence they cannot sail to the *Havanah* in *Cuba*, without passing by one end or the other of *Jamaica*. The *Havanah* is the Place of general Rendezvous for the *Flota*, and the Importance of their Junction there, for their Security is easy to be imagined; which we could soon hinder, by being Masters of the Seas about *Jamaica*.

Besides all these Advantages, let me name another, which *Britain* reaps by this Island; and that is, yearly there are exported from it to *Great Britain*, by a very modest Account, 300,000 Pieces of Eight, which, of how great Service to the Nation, you may easily judge. It is a constant Fair for all Sorts of *English* Goods; for which, either ready Cash is given, or Goods taken in Exchange, at the Discretion of the Seller.

The Merchants here generally thrive exceedingly, and I scarce ever knew an Instance of one's being a Bankrupt: Many Persons have made fine
Estates

Estates from a very small Beginning. Mr. Barclay, a Gentleman of fine Sense and great Parts, was only at first a Factor for a private Gentleman; but in that time so effectually recommended himself, that he soon got vast Business. He is at present one of the Masters in Chancery, and ranked among the richest Traders in the Island.

Tradesmen are generally employed, very profitably to themselves, especially Copper-smiths, Bricklayers, House-carpenters, Cabinet-makers, Blacksmiths, Coopers, &c. who have all extraordinary Wages.

The general Complaint which is made of the unhealthiness of this Place, is founded upon a perfect Mistake. If New-comers would preserve a due Regimen, and live temperately, they might be as healthy here as any where in the World. It is an Observation, that this warm Climate is the Nourisher of Old-age, and the Destroyer of Youth; and, without doubt, Care must be taken till once a Person be seasoned. The best Method is, to eat or drink nothing that is inflammatory; Sage Tea is reckoned admirably good, because it thins the Blood, and is cooling of its own Nature. One should be careful not to expose himself to the sultry Heat of the Sun in the Day-time, nor to the piercing Dews of the Night. Frequent letting of Blood is much commended, and gentle Doses of Physick. A New-comer is apt to break out in ulcerous Biles; these are excellent Symptoms, and the Physicians generally keep them long open. After one has resided a Twelve-month in the Island, he may venture to take a plentiful Glass, tho' it had better be avoided, because spirituous Liquors heat the Blood, and occasion Fevers.

Thus I have finished what at first I proposed, with that exactness and Fidelity, which is incumbent on every one who writes for the Use of others.

W JA 67 I am S I R, Yours, &c.

F I N I S.